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MARYLAND
Historical Magazine

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VOLUME 90, 1 (SPRING 1995)

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Editor's Notebook

fin-de-siècle

You are reading the first issue of the ninetieth volume of this magazine. For perspective, the inaugural year 1906 saw the publication of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, O. Henry's "The Gift of the Magi," and Jack London's *White Fang*. On Broadway, George M. Cohan introduced "You're a Grand Old Flag." John Galsworthy launched *The Forsyte Saga* in England, Monet began his "Les Nymphéas" series of painting in France, and Hermann Hesse published *Beneath the Wheel* in Germany. Theodore Roosevelt was president of the United States. Edwin Warfield was governor of Maryland. William Hand Browne was editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* at its inception. Eleven editors followed him in the next eighty-nine years, most recently the redoubtable Robert J. Brugger, in whose remarkable eight-year tenure standards of research, interpretation, and documentation were perhaps the highest in the magazine's history.

Now, as we open the ninetieth volume, we join our readers in the homestretch toward the twenty-first century and a new millennium. The commonly used phrase "turn of the century" will soon take on new meaning. In these waning years of the twentieth century the editorial staff of this magazine will seek to identify with the interests of our readers, striving at the same time to guide and expand those interests.

History is booming, but it is a troubled boom. Never has so much historical information been available in popular and scholarly media, forums, and arenas. Yet the field is deeply roiled by disputation. Social historians, who dominated the field, starting in the 1930s, as they challenged and revised the myths and omissions of nineteenth-century historical works, have themselves been under attack for two decades, on the one hand by a variety of historicists (who generally hold that events are determined by forces beyond the control of human beings) and, on the other, by postmodern "deconstructionists" (who believe that all books are just books about other books, all by unknowable authors who are mere vessels for passing on the passions and misconceptions of their times).

Other forces prowl the sidelines. Thought police are on continuous alert for political incorrectness. Defenders of the "Western Canon" square off against radical revisionists who wish (so the defenders think) to revise and rewrite history for political redress.

Archivists and historians feud over standards for codification of knowledge. Biographers (not to mention *auto*biographers) are in low repute in the 1990s, accused in some quarters of "stealing" lives for their own purposes. The writing of narrative history ("storytelling") is beyond the pale for professional historians. Discourse between genealogists and historians has virtually ended. The local historical societies that burgeoned in the post-World War II years once were hailed for returning the populace to its roots; now they are derided by profes-

sionals as weak in research and interpretation and as perpetuators of myths, of little value to historiography.

We have history Ph.D.s who seemingly cannot organize data and write about it clearly. We have graduate students who are trained to develop interesting new data bases but are fearful of theorizing from the data or engaging in provocative speculation. And each month, it seems, a new quarrel breaks out about "who owns history? (Disney at Manassus, Martin Luther King Jr.'s family *vs.* the National Park Service, the Enola Gay at the Smithsonian, etc.) Any journal of history might be said to exist in a minefield in the turbulent 1990s.

Civilized debate in the field of history is vital and most of it is wholesome and broadening. But it can become destructive, devisive, and tiresome. We hope for more of the former and less of the latter as this quarrelsome—and at times noisome—decade proceeds to the millennium.

We believe that the majority of our readers view history as a continuum, an evolving human story with which they wish to connect for identity, self-education, and pleasure. We intend to publish historical material that adds new insight to our knowledge of the past, aims to treat all groups in our multicultural society fairly, and is objectively based and clearly presented. Our contributors will be encouraged to rediscover the art of narrative and even to tell us a story when the story adds to our understanding of their point. As we deal with people, places, and events in Maryland we shall try always to provide historiographical context. And, oh yes, from time to time we shall revisit some of the most interesting work from the early decades of this magazine.

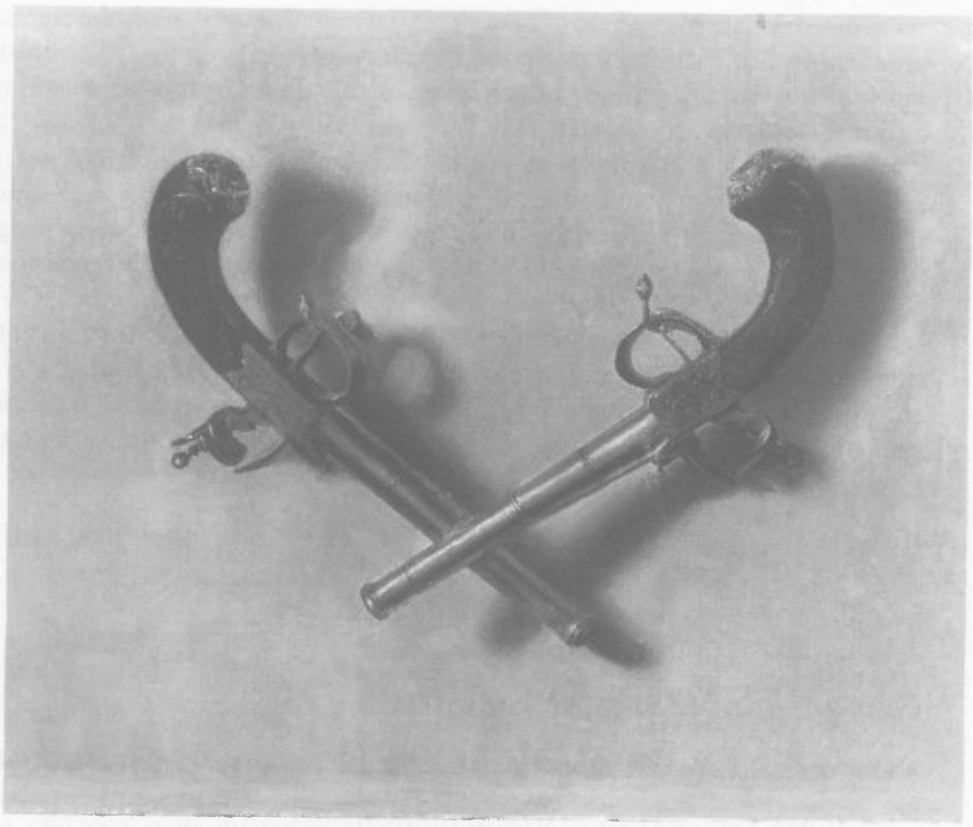
Welcome to Volume 90.

E.L.S.

Cover: *The Spires of Frederick*

Our cover illustration recognizes the 250th anniversary in 1995 of the founding of the city of Frederick, Maryland. These church steeples and cupolas in Court Square overlook the city's Georgian homes with their wrought-iron railings and ancient shade trees. Beyond the square the gabled roofs of smaller middle-class homes and businesses stand along Market Street, a legacy of the German, Swiss, and Scots-Irish immigrants who settled here in the mid-eighteenth century. The surrounding farmland on neatly cultivated hills still holds an occasional limestone house or barn, and ribbons of white fences separate livestock from acres of orchards and fields. The *Maryland Historical Magazine* congratulates the citizens of Frederick on this significant anniversary. (Photograph courtesy of the Historical Society of Frederick County.)

P.D.A.



Dueling Pistols, 1804, oil on canvas attributed to Raphaelle Peale and painted for Robert Henry Goldsborough IV of Myrtle Grove, Talbot County. (Courtesy of Sotheby's, Ltd.)

"Peale's Pistols": An Attribution to Raphaelle

PHOEBE LLOYD

A still life of paired but unmatched pistols, painted to scale, has come into public view for the first time. The painting evokes an American time and place and culture in many ways as remote to moderns as lost Atlantis. The place is Maryland's Eastern Shore, the ancestral haunt of the great provincial clan of Goldsborough, some of whom settled along the Miles River in the mid-seventeenth century. Until now, when the painting is in the hands of Sotheby's, this exquisite work of art has been known only to Goldsborough kin and those intimates welcomed at the family seat of Myrtle Grove, situated not far from Easton in Talbot County.[1] There, in this commodious Georgian-style house, Raphaelle Peale's trompe l'oeil depiction hung as an overdoor in the receiving room that faced the river. For many years the painting's familiar name was "the pistols by Mr. Peale," or more simply, "Mr. Peale's pistols."[2]

The back of the painting bears the inscription "Painted by ____ Peale."[3] The question immediately arises as to which Peale, Charles Willson, Rembrandt, or Raphaelle? No still lifes are positively attributed to Charles Willson,[4] who in any case could never bring himself to approve wholly of the genre. Summing up his preference for portraiture over still life, he wrote near the end of his life: "It [portraiture] is not like the painting of still life; the painting of objects that have no motion, which any person of tolerable genius with some application may acquire."[5] Needless to say, Charles Willson's favorite son, the ever obedient Rembrandt, never crossed his father on this sensitive point. He cranked out numerous portraits in his career, but he is not known ever to have essayed the genre of still life. That leaves Raphaelle, who from early adulthood defied his father continuously. In his art, Raphaelle favored still life over portraiture, and his still lifes were superbly rendered.

As subject matter, the pistols are unique to Raphaelle's oeuvre. An inventory of Raphaelle's seventy-some still lifes reveals elements that are preponderantly pacific and domestic. His tabletops and ledges support visions of horticultural produce and comestibles, thereby underscoring themes of sustenance and growth. Only the two pistols are martial and ominous objects, suggesting termination. They are delineated punctiliously as English silver-mounted flintlocks, dating to 1770–1780.[6] The pistols' particularity, as well as their

A professor of American art history at Texas Tech University, Phoebe Lloyd has under way a book explaining the life and work of Raphaelle Peale.

singularity in Raphaelle's oeuvre, raise a second question. Were they especially commissioned by a member of the Goldsborough family for some private, commemorative purpose?

Myrtle Grove's owner, as Raphaelle came into his maturity, was Robert Henry Goldsborough IV (1779–1836), a gentleman farmer and aspiring politician. Always a staunch Federalist and a man of high temper,[7] Goldsborough antagonized the lower classes by virtue of his birth, Episcopal faith, and opposition to universal suffrage. At the very outset of his political career, he faced the temptation to settle a dispute by way of the code duello.

In 1803, Goldsborough ran for the Maryland House of Delegates. His opponent was Jacob Gibson, of the Republican party [later called the Democratic party]. Goldsborough lost but was elected in 1804, only to lose again in 1805. Throughout, Goldsborough was the butt on which the populist Republicans tried their bolts. First, anonymous writers launched a campaign of invective, dubbing Goldsborough "Fiddle Faddle of the Grove." The *Republican Star-Office*, September 6 and 13, 1803, printed the following: "Monsieur Fiddle Faddle is better calculated to grace a ball room, whisper soft nonsense, nibble nuts and flirt a fan by the side of a Lady, than to sit in the legislature of Maryland. Monsieur will therefore be elected to stay at home." Soon the blunt and ruthless Gibson stepped to the fore, attacking Goldsborough directly in the newspapers and on the hustings with vituperative statements and written certificates.[8]

By this time Jacob Gibson had risen through political office to become one of the prime bullies of Talbot County. In 1796 he was brought before the grand jury on the complaint of using a false-bottom bushel to measure grain.[9] Thereafter his rule of conduct was that a strong offense makes an even stronger defense. In 1802, acting as justice of the peace, Gibson not only denied a certain James Cowan a liquor license but knocked him down and beat him.[10] The following year he was convicted and fined fifty pounds for beating the stepmother who raised him.[11] What better defense than to deflect attention from his own shortcomings by attacking Monsieur Fiddle Faddle? Goldsborough refused to play his assigned role, however. In a public speech he observed that "When I saw him [Gibson] coming into the Court House I was in doubt whether he would take his seat upon the judicial bench or in the criminal docket."[12]

In 1808 Gibson managed to elevate his low bullying to the gentleman's plateau by publicly challenging one John Murray to a duel.[13] Between 1803 and 1805, had he dreamt of being a gentleman duelist, his sole practice target surely would have been the scion of Myrtle Grove.

A Jousting Heritage

The Goldsborough clan traced its roots back to medieval times when its members were Knights Templar who carried their special cross to the Holy Wars.[14] The Crusades, or "Croisades," drew their name from the individual

crosses (*croix* or *crux*) leaders bore on their standards. Jousting and dueling were part of the medieval heritage of the gently born Robert Henry Goldsborough IV, signified by the cross *fleurie* on the Goldsborough family crest. A contest fought according to etiquette was a gentleman's affair, the establishment of one's innocence by a display of force combined with the courtesy of granting mercy. In the nineteenth century, long after jurisprudence had evolved into a high art, there lingered among gentlemen a bellicose tendency toward settling disputes by dueling when laws seemed inadequate for redress of honor. There is evidence that the American Goldsboroughs continued to subscribe to this hoary tradition.

Goldsborough's father, Robert Henry Goldsborough III (1740–1798), the Judge, possessed a pair of pistols so singular that they were separated out and appear with other valuable items in his 1799 estate inventory wherein "1 pair of Pistols" was ranked with "1 Fortepiano," "1 Violin," and "1 Guitar," whereas all other items were lumped as "House hold furniture of every kind."[15] These are almost certainly the pistols featured in Raphaelle's still life. Raphaelle's flintlocks are consistent with a gentleman's proper accoutrements. They are not weapons for a sure kill, but rather to use in a ritual where the test for the parties is to face down each other on the field of honor. Once courage was displayed, the challenger as often as not spared his opponent.[16] Whether the senior Goldsborough ever deployed his pistols is impossible to say at this juncture. Talbot County legend has it that many duels were fought at the crossroads (dating to 1663) by the Old White Marsh Church Cemetery. But these private rendezvous have not come down in the public record.[17]

In his estate inventory of 1836 no pistols were listed as belonging to Robert Henry Goldsborough IV, although there was "1 Double Barrel Gun" and "1 Fowling Piece." Inventories, however, are not wholly reliable since descendants often hid taxable items that were valuable, singular, portable, and small. Furthermore, sophistication was rarely an inventory taker's strong suit. The person who took Goldsborough's inventory, for instance, was entirely unconcerned and therefore unspecific about the thirty-seven-plus "pictures" that hung throughout the house. But he dutifully recorded the "18 bottles tomato catsup" laid up in the larder.[18]

What has survived pertaining to the Myrtle Grove painting of dueling pistols is the receipt for the pigments for its composition. The receipt is presented among the nearly nineteen thousand Goldsborough family papers long kept in an adjacent building on the Myrtle Grove acreage, the story-and-a-half law office that is one of the oldest in the country.[19] The majority of the documents pertain to Goldsborough and his father the Judge. The meticulous younger Goldsborough accounted for, inventoried, and saved every scrap of paper pertaining to all manner of business that touched himself, his family, and his slaves and estates. Yet in the entire collection of family papers there is no other

The Goldsborough family crest bears a medieval cross of the Holy Wars, suggesting a heritage rich in codes of honor and knightly conduct. (From H. D. Richardson, Sidelights on Maryland History *[repr. Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1967].)*

document like this one. Only once, evidently, did Goldsborough order pigments.

The receipt's obverse carries two dates: "Easton, 8th June 1804," when Goldsborough ordered fine art supplies from Bennett Wheeler; and "Easton 3d July 1804," when the order was paid. Goldsborough's annotation on the reverse indicates that he received his order on the same day it arrived back in Easton. Bennett Wheeler was a local merchant whose general store stocked hardware and other building materials.[20] Because there would have been no demand in Easton for fine art supplies, he functioned as middleman. Hence the delay until the supplies arrived from some distant metropolitan center. Goldsborough's list reads as follows:

1 Bottle Spirits Turpentine
1 1/2 oz Verdigrease
1 oz White Vitriol
1/2 oz Umber
1 oz Venetian Red
1 oz Rose Pink
1/2 oz Allum
3 ozs Prusian Blue

Precisely the colors, then, and in amounts neither too little nor too great to execute the Myrtle Grove still life in a monochrome palette. This receipt tells us that an experienced artist was on the scene dictating to Goldsborough the colors he required for a specific undertaking.

Myrtle Grove, near Easton in Talbot County, remained in the Goldsborough family until the 1970s. The painting of the pistols hung in the receiving room. (Prints and Photographs, Maryland Historical Society.)

Running down the list of items offers us another transport in time. In the early nineteenth century, standard painting procedures were quite laborious. Good results depended on a sound knowledge of craft. Today only the necessity for turpentine requires no explanation. Once pigments came as powders or solids wrapped in papers or bladders as indicated here by their dry measure in ounces. Alum (potassium aluminum sulphate or ammonium aluminum sulphate) was added to a glue-like substance such as isinglass (fish glue) to prepare a surface for receiving a ground of white vitriol or umber or a mixture of both. Prussian blue, the pigment bought in the largest quantity, was a popular invention of a German color-maker sometime between 1704 and 1707. It is the first artificial pigment with a known history. This blue, tending to green, was also used to achieve shadows and other subtle coloring effects. Then there is the verdigris in half the quantity of the blue. From antiquity, verdigris (literally the green of Greece) had been produced from copper and lends a bluish cast. Rose pink is a light red, or fugitive lake, which in the nineteenth century was usually made from brazilwood. Venetian red is darker, a native earth extracted from red and brown iron oxides. Umber is a brown earth.[21]

Raphaelle used his umber, white, reds, and blues to create tertiary colors with lower value intensities. Thus yellow has been mixed on the palette from

umber and white. The silver of the painting is a mixture of white and black, which itself is an admixture of three colors. These reduced intensities allowed Raphaelle to achieve a range of alternating warm/cool effects. The foreground pistol is cooler and more metallic by virtue of the application of Prussian blue, whereas the background pistol is warmer because Raphaelle added far more umber.[22] As a final touch, Raphaelle brushed in white accents with lustrous white vitriol to catch and send back light. Overall, the surface handling is remarkably deft.

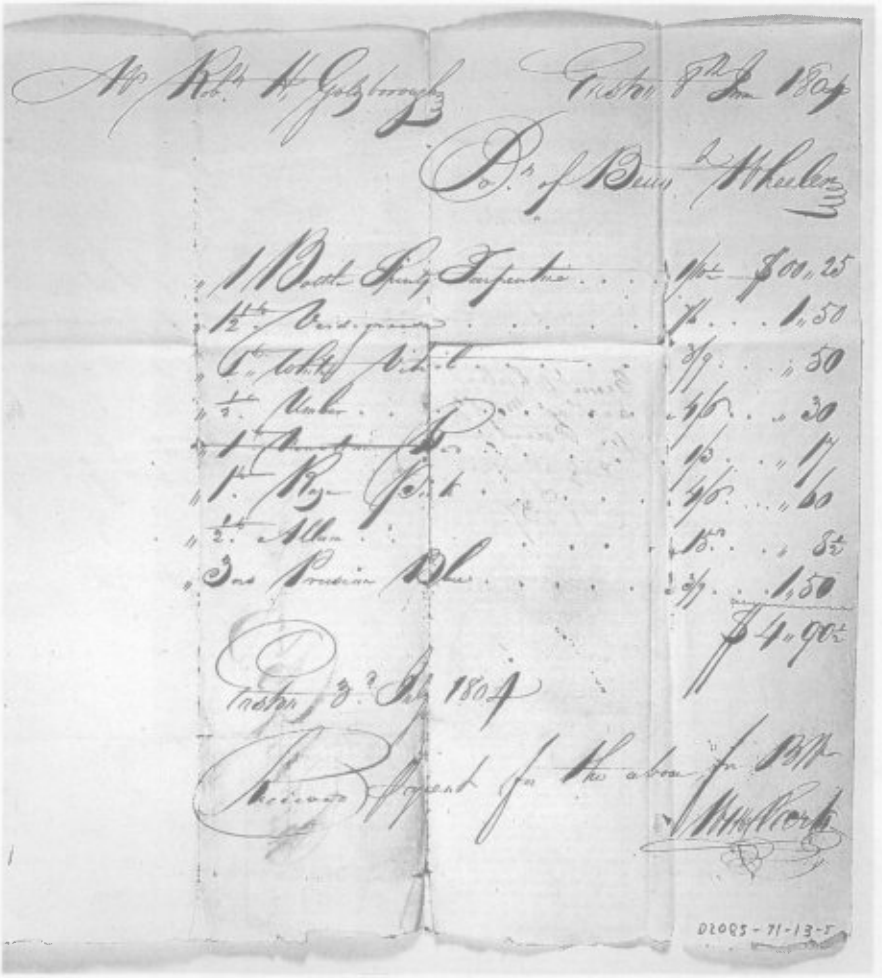
A Half-Day's Journey to a Cousinly Welcome

Perhaps there was a meaning, now lost, in the way the Myrtle Grove pistols were transformed into *objets d'art.* Hanging from brass pins, butts up, barrels down, they were rendered innocuous: a still life to remind the owner of their potential to take life—and painted in the year 1804 when Robert Henry Goldsborough IV, greatly aggrieved by Gibson and his cohort, must have been sorely tempted to use them. Certainly, because Goldsborough summoned a major artist of the period to depict the pistols, we may assume that he was not ashamed of their use and that they were not unimportant to the family.

No duel between Gibson, the bully of Talbot County, and Goldsborough, whom he had characterized as effete and foppish, ever took place, or not one set down in the public record.[23] In 1804, events conspired to ameliorate the temptation for the socially poised, ambitious Goldsborough to issue a challenge. (He went on to serve in the United States Senate from 1813 to 1819.) In a carefully scrutinized run for the governorship of New York, the Republican candidate, Aaron Burr, and his political antagonist of long standing, Alexander Hamilton, a Federalist, finally succeeded in polishing the apple of discord so brightly that only a duel would satisfy Burr, the disappointed loser in the election. As a consequence of the fatal Burr-Hamilton duel, the Reverend Lyman Beecher advocated two years later in a widely distributed sermon that duelists be "expelled from all legislative influence."[24] Evidence that this famous duel exercised an almost immediate fascination over Goldsborough is found in another document in the family papers, a July 12, 1804 newspaper report of Hamilton's death republished five days later in the *Republican Star-Office.*

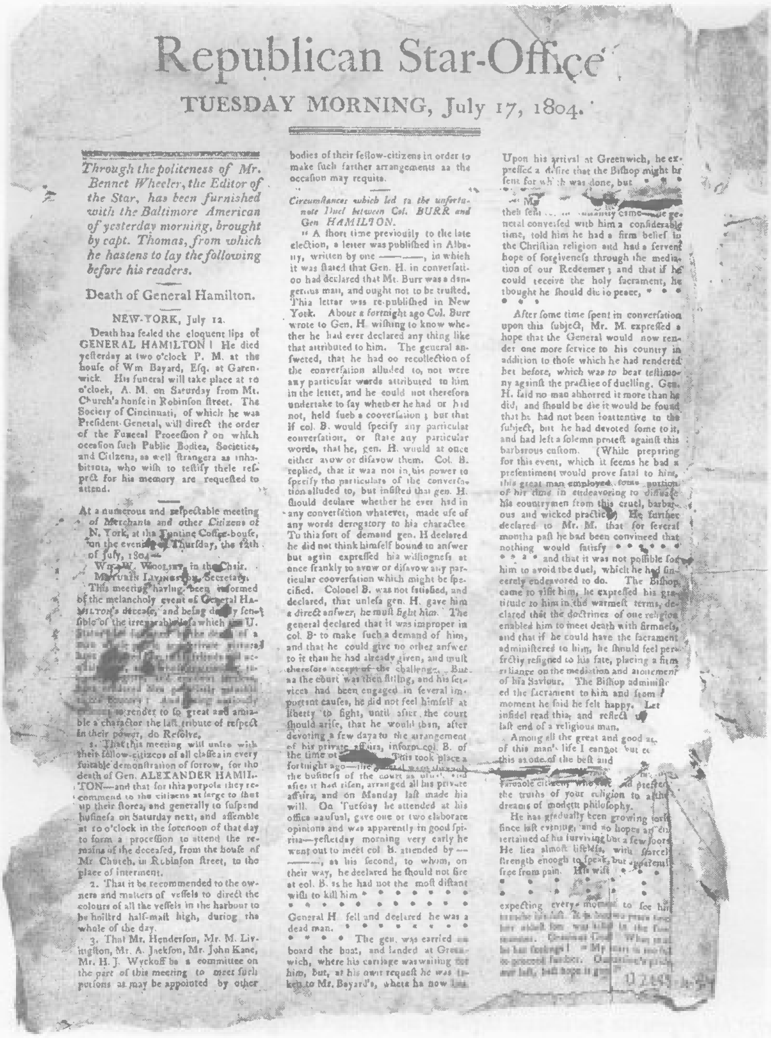
There are gaps in the Goldsborough family papers, voluminous though they are; no account has emerged to date to provide anecdotal information about the pistols' actual use by Judge Goldsborough or his son, nor why they were painted. Also missing is a record of payment from Robert Henry Goldsborough IV to the artist. On the other hand, the lack of a receipt may mean that no money crossed Raphaelle's palm.

The year 1804 was a flush one for Raphaelle. With his brother Rembrandt, he accompanied the family spectacular, a mastodon skeleton, to Savannah and Charleston during the late winter and early spring. In each city he was able to



Goldsborough's receipt for pigments purchased through an Easton merchant in early summer 1804. (Courtesy Maryland State Archives, Special Collections, Goldsborough Family Papers, MSA SC 2085-17-13.)

make additional money by tracing silhouettes with a physiognotrace. In April Raphaelle sent to his father a $1,250 check for deposit in a Philadelphia bank.[25] By late May the brothers had reassembled the skeleton, together with that of a mouse, in Baltimore's grand two-story City Assembly Rooms. The edition of the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* for May 26 announced a fifty-cent admission and an offer of a free silhouette. Then, as attendance flagged, Raphaelle followed up with three poems, the last of which was published on June 16 and titled "DIALOGUE Between the Skeletons of the Mouse & of the Mammoth."[26] This multi-stanzaed flight of fancy, where the mouse bests the behemoth because he (the mouse) is not extinct, would have



Republican Star-Office

TUESDAY MORNING, July 17, 1804.

Through the politeness of Mr. Bennet Wheeler, the Editor of the Star, has been furniſhed with the Baltimore American of yeſterday morning, brought by capt. Thomas, from which he haſtens to lay the following before his readers.

Death of General Hamilton.

NEW-YORK, July 12.

Death has ſealed the eloquent lips of GENERAL HAMILTON! He died yeſterday at two o'clock P. M. at the houſe of Wm Bayard, Eſq. at Greenwick. His funeral will take place at 10 o'clock, A. M. on Saturday from Mr. Church's houſe in Robinſon ſtreet. The Society of Cincinnati, of which he was Preſident-General, will direct the order of the Funeral Proceſſion ? on which occaſion ſuch Public Bodies, Societies, and Citizens, as well ſtrangers as inhabitants, who wiſh to teſtify their reſpect for his memory are requeſted to attend.

At a numerous and reſpectable meeting of Merchants and other Citizens of N. York, at the Tontine Coffee-houſe, on the evening of Thurſday, the 12th of July, 1804—

Wm W. Woolsey, in the Chair.
Maturin Livingston, Secretary.

This meeting having been informed of the melancholy event of General Hamilton's deceaſe, and being deeply ſenſible of the irreparable loſs which the U. [illegible] to render to ſo great and amiable a character the laſt tribute of reſpect in their power, do Reſolve,

1. That this meeting will unite with their fellow-citizens of all claſſes in every ſuitable demonſtration of ſorrow, for the death of Gen. ALEXANDER HAMILTON—and that for this purpoſe they recommend to the citizens at large to ſhut up their ſtores, and generally to ſuſpend buſineſs on Saturday next, and aſſemble at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of that day to form a proceſſion to attend the remains of the deceaſed, from the houſe of Mr Church, in Robinſon ſtreet, to the place of interment.

2. That it be recommended to the owners and maſters of veſſels to direct the colours of all the veſſels in the harbour to be hoiſted half-maſt high, during the whole of the day.

3. That Mr. Henderſon, Mr. M. Livingſton, Mr. A. Jackſon, Mr. John Kane, Mr. H. J. Wyckoff be a committee on the part of this meeting to meet ſuch perſons as may be appointed by other bodies of their fellow-citizens in order to make ſuch farther arrangements as the occaſion may require.

Circumſtances which led to the unfortunate Duel between Col. BURR and Gen HAMILTON.

" A ſhort time previouſly to the late election, a letter was publiſhed in Albany, written by one ———, in which it was ſtated that Gen. H. in converſation had declared that Mr. Burr was a dangerous man, and ought not to be truſted. This letter was re-publiſhed in New York. About a fortnight ago Col. Burr wrote to Gen. H. wiſhing to know whether he had ever declared any thing like that attributed to him. The general anſwered, that he had no recollection of the converſation alluded to, nor were any particular words attributed to him in the letter, and he could not therefore undertake to ſay whether he had or had not, held ſuch a converſation; but that if col. B. would ſpecify any particular converſation, or ſtate any particular words, that he, gen. H. would at once either avow or diſavow them. Col. B. replied, that it was not in his power to ſpecify the particulars of the converſation alluded to, but inſiſted that gen. H. ſhould declare whether he ever had in any converſation whatever, made uſe of any words derogatory to his character. To this ſort of demand gen. H declared he did not think himſelf bound to anſwer but again expreſſed his willingneſs at once frankly to avow or diſavow any particular converſation which might be ſpecified. Colonel B. was not ſatisfied, and declared, that unleſs gen. H. gave him *a direct anſwer, he muſt fight him.* The general declared that it was improper in col. B. to make ſuch a demand of him, and that he could give no other anſwer to it than he had already given, and muſt therefore accept of the challenge. But as the court was then ſitting, and his ſervices had been engaged in ſeveral important cauſes, he did not feel himſelf at liberty to fight, until after the court ſhould ariſe, that he would then, after devoting a few days to the arrangement of his private affairs, inform col. B. of the time of [illegible]. This took place a fortnight ago—the [illegible] the buſineſs of the court as uſual, and after it had riſen, arranged all his private affairs, and on Monday laſt made his will. On Tueſday he attended at his office as uſual, gave one or two elaborate opinions and was apparently in good ſpirits—yeſterday morning very early he went out to meet col. B. attended by ——— ———, as his ſecond, to whom, on their way, he declared he ſhould not fire at col. B. as he had not the moſt diſtant wiſh to kill him * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

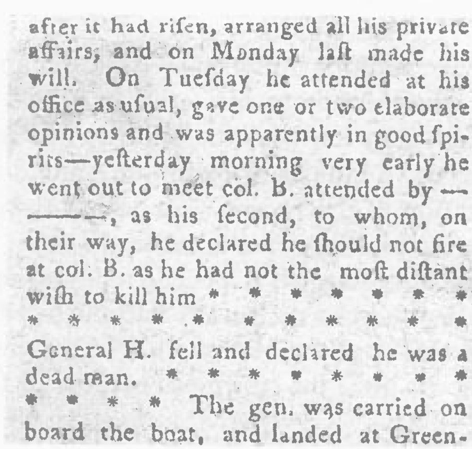
General H. fell and declared he was a dead man. * * * * * * * * * * * * The gen. was carried on board the boat, and landed at Greenwich, where his carriage was waiting for him, but, at his own requeſt he was taken to Mr. Bayard's, where he now lies.

Upon his arrival at Greenwich, he expreſſed a deſire that the Biſhop might be ſent for which was done, but * * * [illegible] Mr [illegible] came—the general converſed with him a conſiderable time, told him he had a firm belief in the Chriſtian religion and had a fervent hope of forgiveneſs through the mediation of our Redeemer; and that if he could receive the holy ſacrament, he thought he ſhould die in peace, * * * * * *

After ſome time ſpent in converſation upon this ſubject, Mr. M. expreſſed a hope that the General would now render one more ſervice to his country in addition to thoſe which he had rendered her before, which was to bear teſtimony againſt the practice of duelling. Gen. H. ſaid no man abhorred it more than he did, and ſhould he die it would be found that he had not been inattentive to the ſubject, but he had devoted ſome to it, and had left a ſolemn proteſt againſt this barbarous cuſtom. (While preparing for this event, which it ſeems he had a preſentiment would prove fatal to him, this great man employed ſome portion of his time in endeavoring to diſſuade his countrymen from this cruel, barbarous and wicked practice.) He further declared to Mr. M. that for ſeveral months paſt he had been convinced that nothing would ſatiſfy * * * * * * * * * * and that it was not poſſible for him to avoid the duel, which he had ſincerely endeavored to do. The Biſhop came to viſit him, he expreſſed his gratitude to him in the warmeſt terms, declared that the doctrines of our religion enabled him to meet death with firmneſs, and that if he could have the ſacrament adminiſtered to him, he ſhould feel perfectly reſigned to his fate, placing a firm reliance on the mediation and atonement of his Saviour. The Biſhop adminiſtered the ſacrament to him and from [illegible] moment he ſaid he felt happy. Let [illegible] infidel read this, and reflect [illegible] laſt end of a religious man.

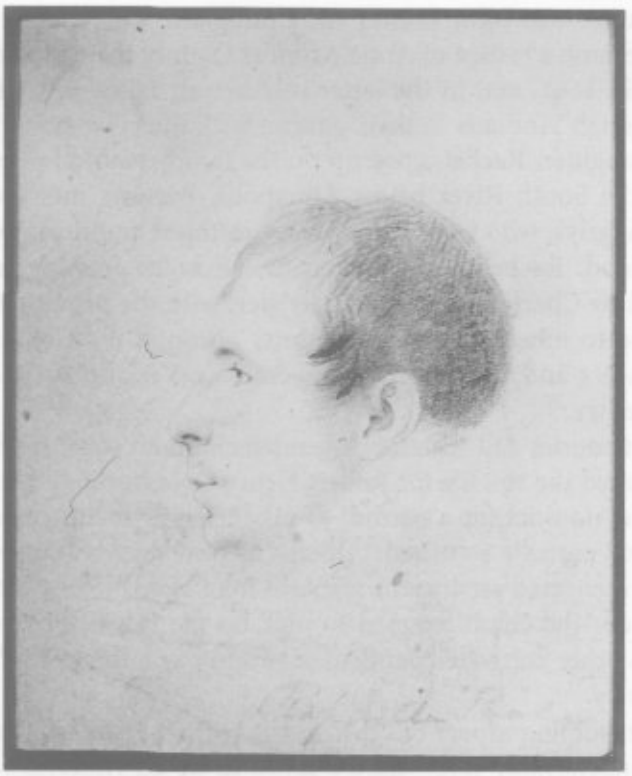
Among all the great and good ac[illegible] of this man's life I cannot but [illegible] this as one of the beſt and [illegible] favorable citizen, who [illegible] preferred the truths of your religion to a[illegible] dreams of modern philoſophy.

He has gradually been growing [illegible] ſince laſt evening, and no hopes are entertained of his ſurviving but a few hours. He lies almoſt lifeleſs, with ſcarcely ſtrength enough to ſpeak, but apparently free from pain. His wife * * * * * * * * * * * * expecting every moment to ſee him [illegible]



after it had riſen, arranged all his private affairs, and on Monday laſt made his will. On Tueſday he attended at his office as uſual, gave one or two elaborate opinions and was apparently in good ſpirits—yeſterday morning very early he went out to meet col. B. attended by —— ———, as his ſecond, to whom, on their way, he declared he ſhould not fire at col. B. as he had not the moſt diſtant wiſh to kill him * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
General H. fell and declared he was a dead man. * * * * * * * * * * * * The gen. was carried on board the boat, and landed at Green-

An account of the Burr-Hamilton duel as relayed by the Republican Star-Office *and saved by Goldsborough. (Courtesy Maryland State Archives, Special Collections, Goldsborough Family Papers, MSA SC 208-10-5.)*



Self-Portrait, *by Raphaelle Peale, second son of renowned artist Charles Willson Peale and undisputed master of tromp l'oile. (Private collection.)*

been hard to overlook. The interval between May 26 and June 16 covers the period when Goldsborough may have decided to commission a still life from Raphaelle. Winds and currents permitting, Baltimore was but a half-day's journey across water from the Eastern Shore. Goldsborough, who read the Baltimore papers, could easily have learned of Raphaelle's whereabouts and sent for him.

Raphaelle and his father, Charles Willson Peale, were already well known to the Goldsboroughs. In 1789 the mature artist, with fifteen-year-old Raphaelle in tow, had painted a family portrait at their Ashby homeplace just up the Miles River from Myrtle Grove. In the portrait Robert IV, age ten, appears with his father the judge, his mother Mary Emerson Trippe, and his older sister Elizabeth Greenberry. Two years later the artists, father and son, traveled again to the Eastern Shore, and on that trip Charles Willson Peale repaired to the newly renovated Myrtle Grove where he touched up the family portrait.[27]

Raphaelle was welcome among the Goldsboroughs for an additional, and quite important, reason. His mother Rachel was a Brewer, and Brewer roots sank just as deeply into Maryland soil as any Goldsborough's. Rachel's great-

great-grandfather was John Brewer the Immigrant who arrived in Maryland circa 1652, became a justice of Anne Arundel County in 1658, a burgess in the lower house in 1661, and in the latter role helped raised a force to assist the "Sasquehannough" Indians in their quarrel with the "Naijssone."[28] His great-great-granddaughter, Rachel, grew up on the family plantation of Larkington, situated on the South River below Annapolis. Brewers intermarried several times with Ridgelys, who were among the wealthiest and most powerful families of Maryland. Rachel's second cousins, Nicholas and James Maccubbin, were adopted by Charles Carroll the Barrister, with the proviso that they drop their surname to inherit the Carroll estate. Through the Greenberry/Ridgely line, the Brewers and Goldsboroughs were blood relations. The Brewers, in short, were gentry.[29]

As a distant cousin, and therefore a gentleman on an equal footing, Raphaelle may have painted the still life for Robert Henry Goldsborough gratis. Goldsborough's gesture, unusual for a patron, of procuring pigments then takes on the logic of a favor partially returned.[30] If that is how events transpired, the two Marylanders reenacted an ancient scenario long cherished by artists, the time when Alexander the Great stooped to pick up the brush for Apelles. In subsequent years other cultivated gentlemen would pay homage to Raphaelle's artistic superiority.[31]

The most troubling aspect of "the pistols by Mr. Peale" is that the work is almost too unbelievably fine—dare I say?—to be an American work of that time. But the Easton receipt settles that point. And in 1804 no other American artist was so versed in trompe l'oeil.[32]

Deceptions and a Missing Link

Indeed, the *Dueling Pistols*'s only American rival in early essays in trompe l'oeil is the corkscrew painting once located on the library door of the Russell-Codman house in Lincoln, Massachusetts, and heretofore attributed to John Singleton Copley. But this too could have been executed by Raphaelle, for by September 1804 he was in Boston. Rembrandt had stayed behind in Philadelphia to negotiate the sale of the money-losing mastodon, while in Boston Raphaelle advertised himself as the master of the physiognotrace and as a portraitist.[33] His father feared he would not do so well among the Yankees, and he was right.[34] By October, Raphaelle was traveling in Boston's environs. He dropped in at the Quincy home of former President John Adams to inform him that the mastodon was an "amphibious Sea Monster."[35] Raphaelle's scientific imagination was as far-fetched as his wit. An unamused Adams dismissed his "despicable Philosophy of Mammoths." Errant theories brought a sour reception and no cash. Raphaelle, stranded in Boston, would have had need of commissions.

The attribution of the *Corkscrew Hanging on a Nail* rests on a twentieth-century Codman family oral tradition, without further absolute documentation. Supposedly Copley created it for Dr. Charles Russell (1738–1780), whose portrait he also painted. The obliging artist is said to have provided a corkscrew after the discomfited doctor proffered a prized bottle of wine with no way to remove the cork. This family lore notwithstanding, there are no other extant trompe l'oeil still lifes by Copley.[36] On the other hand, Raphaelle had just executed one for the Maryland Goldsboroughs. Furthermore, the corkscrew and its story is in accordance with a Peale family tradition in which a painted deception solves a practical problem.

In 1812 he submitted to the Pennsylvania Academy of Design's annual exhibition *Catalogue for the use of the Room, A ceception* [sic].[37] The following year Raphaelle's eighteen-year-old cousin, Margaretta Angelica Peale, mimicked his example.[38] Raphaelle's "ceception" may be the same painting on tin that later hung by a door in the Peales' Philadelphia Museum.[39]

Raphaelle's witty deceits became his hallmark early in his career. His inclination to paint deceptions surfaced when he was just twenty-one (1795) and entered among his eight still lifes in the Columbianum Exposition *A covered Painting, A Bill* and *A Deception.*[40] There is, additionally, *Still Life—A Catalogue and Papers filed* exhibited continuously in the Academy's annual exhibition from 1818 through 1820, not to mention his masterpiece of 1823, the late work *Venus rising from the sea—a Deception.*[41]

What the paintings of the corkscrew and the pistols share is the tight construction of tactile effects in tertiary colors. More certain proof of Raphaelle's authorship of the Boston deception may be adduced in the future if it and the *Dueling Pistols* are brought side by side.[42] The comparison might then provide the missing link between the lost deceptions of 1795 and the catalogue of 1812.

In his handling of the *Dueling Pistols* especially, Raphaelle's ability to transfix objects in light and space is splendidly demonstrated. This painting declares that the artist knew his gifts and therefore understood that he could exercise his prowess through restraint. A careful scrutiny of the picture's surface reveals that in his nuanced handling of pigments there was at the time no other painter in America the equal of Raphaelle Peale.

NOTES

For Max Antonio Allen Jacobs, and for his mother Clara Maria Rodriguez. I extend particular thanks to John d'Entremont, who is ever at pains to make sure that I "get it right" whenever American art and the nation's intellectual history intersect. —P.L.

1. Concerning Myrtle Grove, see Christopher Weeks, *Where Land and Water Intertwine: An Architectural History of Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), s.v. "Goldsborough." For a discussion of the antiquity of the Goldsborough homesteads and the Ashby Plat, see H. Chandlee Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland* (Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1967), 85–100. An unpublished six-volume work of 1932, Eleanora Goldsborough's *The House of Goldsborough,* on deposit at the Maryland Historical Society, provides extensive anecdotal history of the family.

2. Conversation with Mrs. J. McKenny (Sally) Willis, formerly Mrs. Robert Goldsborough Henry, Jr., January 27, 1993. Within her memory "Myrtle Grove was like walking into the past. It was a true example of the eighteenth century." This impression is corroborated by John Bozman Kerr, *Genealogical Notes on the Chamberlaine Family of Maryland* (Baltimore: John E. Piet, 1880), 91: "Every relic of the past is carefully treasured by them [the Goldsboroughs of Myrtle Grove], and all seem unwilling to part with anything that belonged to the olden time." The significance of "the pistols by Mr. Peale" to its site at Myrtle Grove was so important to future generations of the family that when heirlooms were divided around the turn of the century, the painting left Myrtle Grove but only for a short interval. Mrs. Willis, in conversation March 26, 1993, recalled an entry in the diary [unlocated] of her father-in-law, Robert Henry, Sr.: "I went to Washington today. Cousin Betty [Hemphill] wanted the pistols to come back to Myrtle Grove." The Henrys of Hambrooks, near Cambridge, Maryland, were descended from John, the fifth son of Robert Goldsborough of Ashby. See Roberta Bolling Henry, "Robert Goldsborough of Ashby, and His Six Sons," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 36 (1941): 332.

3. Robert Scott Wiles of Washington, D.C., restored the painting in March 1969 and, before relining, photographed the back. The inscription in the lower right reading "Property of Chas. Goldsborough, July 1897, Myrtle Grove" is in another hand and could have been added later. The frame, according to Eli Wilner, is not of the period and dates circa 1850–1900.

4. For an assessment of Charles Willson Peale's attitudes toward still life and his possible attempts in that genre, see Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "Democratic Illusions," *Raphaelle Peale Still Lifes* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1988), 37–38.

5. Charles Willson Peale, *Autobiography,* transcript by Horace Wells Sellers, American Philosophical Society Library, 337.

6. In conversation with Holly Goetz, Sotheby's American Paintings Department, January 27, 1993. Goetz was quoting Wendy Phillips.

7. To promote his own political views, Goldsborough was instrumental in founding Talbot County's *Easton Gazette.* See Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland 1661–1861,* reprint of the original 1915 edition (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1967), 1:410. For a sample of Goldsborough's temper, see his letter to Robert Oliver, November 30, 1819, Manuscript Collection, Maryland Historical Society.

8. Material was gleaned from the Samuel A. Harrison Collection, Manuscript Room, Maryland Historical Society. Harrison (ca. 1795–1890) was the father-in-law of Oswald Tilghman, who wrote the *History of Talbot County.* Norine Hendricks-Kuradi kindly delved into this reservoir of seventeen boxes for me when I could not be in Baltimore. Her

detective work uncovered the data about Gibson and Goldsborough. Gibson's pursuit of Goldsborough is found in Harrison's *Biographical Annals,* vol. 5, MS 432, box 1.

9. Harrison's *Biographical Annals,* vol. 2, MS 432, box 1, 1–64, deal with the grand jury hearing about the complaint of the false measure.

10. Ibid, 68–69.

11. Harrison, *Political Annals,* vol. 2, MS 432, box 1, 123.

12. Harrison, *Biographical Annals,* vol. 5, MS 432, box 1, 123.

13. Harrison, *Biographical Annals,* vol. 5, MS 432, box 1, 121–23.

14. Concerning the antiquity of the Goldsborough family, see L. E. Gouldsbury, *The Goldsborough Family* (Toulon, France, n.p., 1866), passim., where the author begins: "An ancient and Knightly family, seated (before the Norman Conquest) at Goldesborough Hall, or Chase, near Knaresborough. A grant of several cates of land, by William the Conqueror to the then head of the family, is in existence." In heraldry there are twenty-two different crosses, hence their classification as Ordinaries because of their ordinary or frequent use on battle shields. See Charles Boutell, *English Heraldry* (London: Gibbings and Company, Ltd., 1902), 54–58.

15. *Inventories and Accounts of Sales 1799–1801,* Talbot County, 53, Maryland State Archives.

16. Aaron Burr's supposed violation of the code is the principal reason for widespread public outrage over his duel with Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton had given Burr strong provocation for the duel, but on the night before he wrote that he had thoughts of throwing away his first fire and even reserving his second. The next morning, however, both parties discharged shots and Burr fatally wounded Hamilton in the abdomen. See Milton Lomask, *Aaron Burr: The Years from Princeton to Vice President, 1756–1805* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979), 353–55. However, Merrill Lindsay, "Pistols Shed Light on Famed Duel," *Smithsonian* (November, 1976): 94–97, has demonstrated conclusively that Hamilton knowingly selected pistols with hair triggers, thus giving himself an advantage. These trick pistols allowed for shooting very quickly with a half-pound squeeze. Burr, who accepted the other pistol from Hamilton, would not have known of the hair trigger.

17. The duels at the White Marsh Cemetery are detailed in an unpublished manuscript, in Oxford, Maryland, according to Weeks, *Where Land and Water Intertwine,* 44–45and n. 19. However, on a recent visit to this tiny hamlet, I was unable to contact anyone who knew about the manuscript. Dueling, in colonial Maryland, could involve the foil and rapier just as well as pistols. See Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland* (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1931), 97.

18. See *Inventories and Accounts of Sales 1836–1838,* Talbot County, liber J.P. no. 19, 15–42, Maryland State Archives.

19. See *The Maryland State Archives Guide to the Sarah D. Griffen, Clyde Griffen, and Margaret Thibault Collection of the Goldsborough Family Papers,* prepared by Joshua Civin, Lauren Marcus, Todd Kosmerick, and R. J. Rockefeller. The Griffen family kindly gave me permission to examine the contents of this restricted collection. I wish to extend my particular thanks to Mr. Rockefeller, the archivist most conversant with the cataloguing of the collection, for steering me through the documents. It should be noted that ten files hold materials destroyed almost beyond recognition by silverfish, mice, and damp.

20. Georgia A. Adler, Director, The Historical Society of Talbot County, answered my query for more information about Wheeler and his general store inventories. Bennett Wheeler died April 25, 1809.

21. The standard texts on colors are R. D. Harley, *Artists' Pigments c. 1600–1835* (London: Butterworth's, 1970); and Ralph Mayer, *The Artist's Handbook of Materials and Techniques*, rev. ed. (New York: The Viking Press, 1970).

22. I thank Dennis Roberts, colleague and artist, for his assessment of Raphaelle's modus operandi.

23. It is the author's hope that publication of this article may yield information on this point.

24. Rev. Lyman Beecher, D.D., *Remedy for Duelling, A Sermon Delivered before the Presbytery of Long Island, April 16, 1806* (Boston: Leavitt & Alden, 1806), 8.

25. The amount of the check Raphaelle sent to his father is given in *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale*, ed. Lillian B. Miller, vol. 2, pt. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 652–53. (Hereafter, *Peale Papers*)

26. The chronology for 1804, when the two brothers traveled together, is conveniently set out in Lillian B. Miller, *In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale 1778–1860* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 72–74 and nn. 1–19. Raphaelle's poem is reproduced in *Peale Papers*, 2:712–14.

27. See Charles Coleman Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures of Charles Willson Peale*, n.s., vol. 42, pt. 1, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1952), 90–91.

28. See Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, vol. 1: A-H (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 163; and the William Hand Browne, ed. *Archives of Maryland: Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1636–1667* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1885, reprint 1967), 1:396, 400.

29. The intricacies of the Brewer cousinry are detailed in Lance Humphries, *Rachel Brewer's Husband: Charles Willson Peale, the Artist in Eighteenth-Century American Society.* M.A thesis, the University of Virginia, 1993, *passim.* Humphries argues persuasively that Charles Willson Peale's patronage base came by way of his wife's extensive family and social connections. For a discussion of how Raphaelle drew upon his mother's world for artistic inspiration and commissions, see Phoebe Lloyd, "Raphaelle Peale's Anne-Arundel Still Life: A Local Treasure Lost and Found," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 87 (1992): 5–7.

30. In the productive year of 1804, when Raphaelle traveled extensively, and when his attention turned primarily to the exhibition of the mastodon and the taking of silhouettes, it is understandable that he did not have pigments at hand. Raphaelle painted before John G. Rand's 1841 invention of the collapsible tin tube, which kept ground dry pigments in a state of fluid suspension in oil so that artists could travel long distances with ready-to-hand colors.

31. On Raphaelle's prestigious patronage, see Phoebe Lloyd, "Philadelphia Story," *Art in America* (November 1988): 161–62, nn. 26–30.

32. The alternate possibility that Robert Henry Goldsborough or any other Myrtle Grove Goldsborough acquired this painting abroad is not likely. Both conversations with Sally Willis and sifting of the Goldsborough family archive convince me that these Goldsbor-

oughs, at least, were neither avid collectors (beyond holding on to their family heirlooms) nor adventurous European travelers.

33. *Boston Gazette,* September 13 and 20, 1804.

34. Charles Willson Peale to Angelica Peale Robinson, September 3, 1804. *Peale Papers,* 2:749–51.

35. John Adams to Francis Van der Kemp, November 5, 1805, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Manuscript Division, John Adams Letters.

36. Copley did submit five still lifes to the 1795 Columbianum Exposition, but none have surfaced. As Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Perry T. Rathbone in "Rediscovery: Copley's Corkscrew," *Art in America* (June 1965): 48–51 and nn. 3 and 7, made the attribution to Copley at the time of the Ogden Codman bequest. The story came from Dorothy Codman, the painting's owner in 1965. Understandably pride of place would tempt Bostonians to think in terms of a Boston artist of great repute. It should be noted also that latterday family tradition almost invariably attaches a painting's attribution to today's best known artists. Unfortunately for Raphaelle's posthumous reputation, the scholarship around his body of work evolved relatively late.

37. Anna Wells Rutledge, *Cumulative Record of Exhibition Catalogues: The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts 1807–1870* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1955), 166, no. 201.

38. Charles H. Elam, *The Peale Family; Three Generations of American Artists* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts and Munson-Williams Proctor Institute, 1967), 128.

39. Charles Willson Peale to Rembrandt Peale, July 3, 1820, *Peale Papers,* 3:840–41. C. W. Peale reported: "[A gentleman] wanted a Catalogue & Mr. Thackara pointed to a Catalogue which hung by the door, painted by your Brother Raphaelle on a piece of Tin. The Gentleman steping forward took hold of it—ah! says Mr. Thackara, this must be the perfection of the art, since I see you are deceived & took hold of it."

40. *The Exhibition of the Columbianum* (Philadelphia: Francis & Robert Bailey, 1795), 6, nos. 79, 82, and 83.

41. *Cumulative Record, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts,* 166, no.186.

42. The most recent comprehensive survey of American still life is William H. Gerdts, *Painters of the Humble Truth* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981), chap. 2, "In the Beginning," does not mention *Corkscrew Hanging on a Nail* as a painting by Copley. Apparently Gerdts is wary of Rathbone's assumption that ". . . Copley's humble corkscrew is the earliest American still life known, as well as being the first American trompe l'oeil." See also Gerdts's "A Deception Unmasked: An Artist Uncovered," *The American Art Journal,* 2 (1986): 4–23, the most detailed and up-to-date discussion of the twin phenomena of Federal Philadelphia as the center of trompe l'oeil still life and Raphaelle's role in its evolution.

Map of Maryland, 1657. (With permission of W. W. Norton, 1994.)

Book Excerpt

The Price of Nationhood

JEAN B. LEE

In a finely crafted study, Jean B. Lee, Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, has added significantly to the historiography of revolutionary times in America with *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994). Her book, which uses a Maryland county as a laboratory for examining the impact—personal and political—of the Revolution, deserves a place, in the opinion of the Editors, alongside Gordon S. Wood's ground-breaking *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1991). We are pleased to present this excerpt, adapted from the author's Introduction, with the permission of the publisher.

The eighteenth century remains a presence in Charles County, Maryland. Tobacco fields still dot the land, and narrow country roads wind through woodland to the Anglican parish churches of Durham, Trinity, and William and Mary, all built before 1800 and still in use. The traveler coming upon St. Ignatius Church encounters a scene that has retained its striking pastoral beauty through the centuries: Below the hillside where Jesuit fathers have laid generations of the faithful to rest, the broad Potomac and Port Tobacco rivers join and continue on to Chesapeake Bay and the sea. A profound quiet prevails. All that is lacking from an earlier day are sailing vessels out of Liverpool or Glasgow, Bristol or the West Indies, bound for nearby river landings.

Place-names and dwellings also evoke memories of another era. The county's four rivers, the Wicomico, Potomac, Patuxent, and Port Tobacco (Formerly Portobacke), call to mind Indian peoples long since departed, as do Zekiah Swamp and several tidal creeks: the Mattawoman, Nanjemoy, Chicamuxen, Pomonkey, and Piccowaxen. The names of early white families persist in roads and country crossings named for the Smallwoods, Dents, Marburys, and others. The towns of Port Tobacco, Newport, and Benedict date from prerevolutionary days. And most of the early houses that have survived, about two dozen built before 1800, are those of the gentry that once dominated life in the county.

The careers of some among them extended well beyond the county's borders, not only to the statehouse in Annapolis but also to the nation's first capital in Philadelphia. On a ridge near Port Tobacco stands Mulberry Grove,

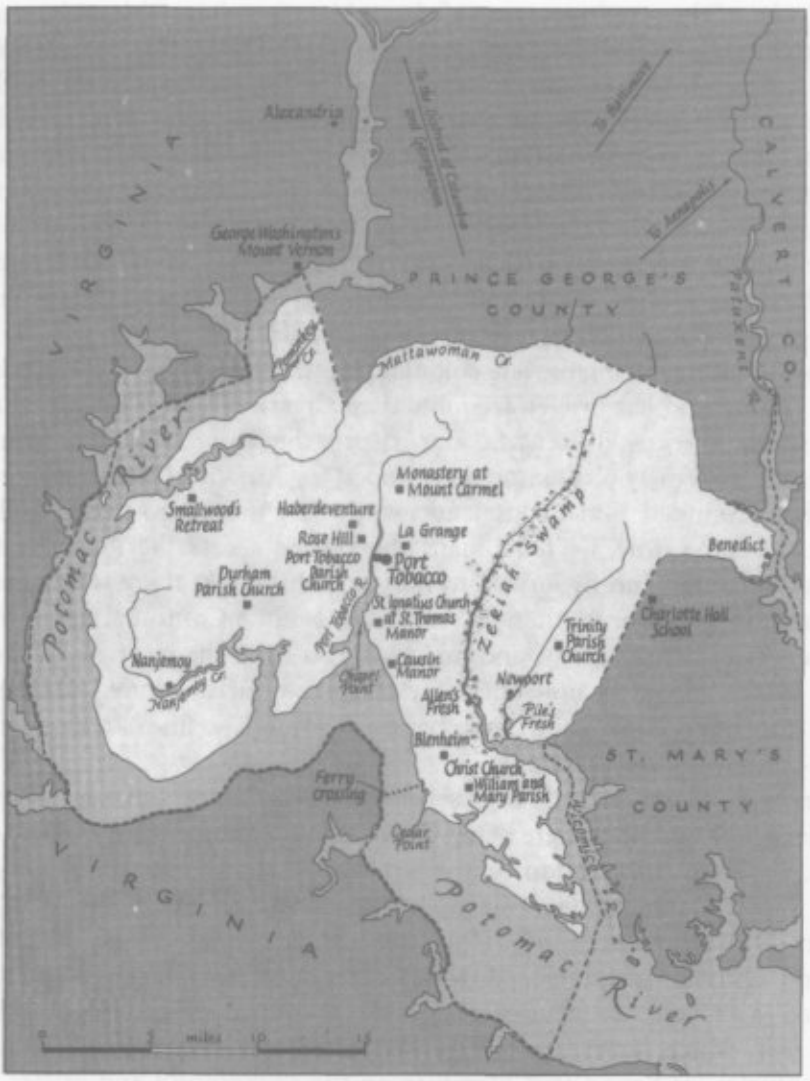
where John Hanson, president of the Continental Congress, once lived. Follow the narrow road north from the town, just as eighteenth-century travelers did, and one comes upon Rose Hill, home of Gustavus Richard Brown, the physician and botanist who helped found the hospital department of the Continental Army and who, on a cold night in December 1799, crossed the Potomac to Mount Vernon in an unsuccessful effort to save its owner's life. Brown's neighbor was Thomas Stone, signer of the Declaration of Independence and a member of the state Senate throughout the revolutionary and Confederation periods. Not far away is the plantation of his uncle, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, whose political career took him from colonial official to member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Finally, tucked away in the northwestern corner of the county is Smallwood's Retreat, to which Maryland's highest-ranking officer in the Continental Army, Major General William Smallwood, retired after the War for Independence.

One never sees, when traveling through the county today, the wooden slave quarters whose occupants constituted a major share of the wealth of men like Smallwood and the others. A common sight in the eighteenth century, the quarters have long since fallen into decay. So, too, have the dwellings in which the majority of white inhabitants—small and middling planters and their families—passed their lives.

In the years before the American Revolution, Charles County was a terminus for transatlantic commerce. It was part of the Tobacco Coast, that labyrinth of land and water, rivers and bays, that made Maryland and Virginia renowned for unsurpassed navigable waters and "the best laid out for trade of any [country] in the world." Letters from British correspondents to persons living in the county needed only an address such as "Port Tobacco, Potomac River" or "Patuxent." At riverain landings and in towns sited at the water's edge, residents exchanged tobacco and other agricultural products for the wares of local artisans and shopkeepers, as well as for English manufactured goods, African slaves, and West Indian sugar.[1]

The county also was a principal crossroad of America. Contemporary maps show the intercolonial post road passing through Port Tobacco, which served as the county seat, locus of an Anglican parish, and a center of the Potomac Valley tobacco trade. To the north along the road lay Annapolis and Philadelphia. To the south, via ferries that plied the Potomac, lay Williamsburg and Charleston.[2] Whether travelers came overland or arrived on oceangoing vessels, many stopped at local plantations or ordinaries, and a few recorded their impressions of the county and the people who lived there.

One of those travelers, a young Englishman named Nicholas Cresswell, managed to capture much of the essence of life in Charles County on the eve of the Revolution. He came to the New World in 1774 because he believed that "a person with a small fortune may live much better and make greater im-



Charles County in the era of the American Revolution. (Permission of W. W. Norton.)

provements in America than he can possibly do in England." During five weeks at sea, Cresswell became acquainted with Alexander Knox, a Scotsman bound for the village of Nanjemoy, in the southwestern part of the county, where his brother was a merchant and storekeeper. Although Cresswell intended to settle in Virginia, his friendship with Knox drew him to the county four times between May 1774 and the following winter. There he first saw tobacco cultivated, and there he fought the "excessive heat" and fevers that preyed upon newcomers to the region. Taking tea, dining, and dancing at the "pleasant Houses" of the gentry; attending a "reaping frolic . . . a Harvest

Feast," where "the people very merry" danced barefoot, "the Girls without stays"; and watching slaves laboriously plant tobacco seedlings in hillocks, Cresswell observed the gamut of the county's social strata. He also experienced the world just beyond the plantations: Scottish traders and their stores, ships lying at anchor to take on tobacco, excursions along Maryland's Potomac shore or across the river to Virginia, and church services and dining in Port Tobacco. A discerning observer, he characterized the inhabitants as hospitable, civil, kind, and obliging. People "appear to live very well, and [to be] exceedingly happy," he wrote. And even the slaves, in their leisure hours together, seemed happy and "as if they had forgot or were not sensible of their miserable condition."[3]

Other travelers during the late colonial period, although they spent less time in the county and left briefer accounts than Cresswell's, also described an inviting scene. A British officer who arrived after the Seven Years' War found the landscape "extremely pleasant and very open for America," with gently rolling hills that reminded him of England except that they were better timbered. About the same time, a Frenchman who ferried across the Potomac to the county noted that "on my arival in Maryland, I thought there was something pleasanter in the Country than in Virginia, it is not a Continual flat as the latter, there is a greater variety, and fine prospects from the riseings . . . the land seems beter Cultivated and setled, the roads are not so sandy." Others, too, found the main road good and, beside it, "ma[n]y fine streams of pure water—and many beautiful hills."[4]

Even as these impressions were set down in wayfarers' journals, the people and place they described were being drawn into the momentous events—revolution, war, and the creation of a new nation that swept across America between the 1760s and 1800. I have explored how the inhabitants of Charles County—the illustrious and humble, free and slave, male and female, Protestant and Catholic—experienced those events and how their lives and society changed as a result. My focus encompasses the immediate and ongoing impact of the war, which is perhaps the least explored area of the Revolution. After two centuries we have a vast literature on the background and causes of the Revolution and on military operations, diplomatic affairs, and the creation of the American political system. We know least about how the majority of men and women, in their communities, experienced and responded to the war and its consequences. The historical literature, moreover, has so emphasized the political and national gains of the era that few have stopped to ask (other than for the loyalists) what was lost.[5]

People in Charles County shared in the gains, but they also paid a tremendous social and economic price for political independence and nationhood. And while in many ways their history is unique, in other ways what happened to them also occurred elsewhere in America. This local study, then, can serve as a window through which to glimpse, sometimes with striking clarity, at

other times only dimly, the generation that lived through, and helped shape, the formative years of the nation. To do so requires abandoning the traditional landmarks at which most studies in the period begin or end (especially Independence in 1776, peace in 1783, or establishment of the federal government between 1787 and 1789) and, instead, treating the time through which the revolutionary generation passed, the time from the late colonial period to the Age of Jefferson, as a whole.

During the 1760s and early 1770s , people in Charles County witnessed the fullest flowering of Maryland's plantation society, something akin to the concurrent golden age of Annapolis. A secure, self-confident, forward-looking elite dominated a complex, hierarchical, and stable social order. An expanding and modestly diversified economy, which was in harmony with the British scheme of empire, offered white inhabitants a level of well-being not surpassed during the colonial period. Even enslaved blacks—by comparison with both earlier and subsequent eras—were experiencing an interlude of relative stability. Problems and tensions existed, to be sure. Yet, tellingly, they were manageable and never shook the foundations of the mature social order. The late colonial county is the baseline for assessing the dramatic changes that followed.

In the decade before Independence, imperial policies and proprietary politics created unusual, rapidly mounting opportunities for people to challenge constituted authority. Individually and through communal efforts, they experimented with everything from solemn statements of their rights to crowd action. Like the vast majority of colonial localities, Charles County was not at the forefront of the Revolution, but by 1776 its people were overwhelmingly in the patriot camp. I trace their transit from disaffection to rebellion, from words to action, showing how political upheaval invited white men of all social ranks to become involved in shaping the course of events, even as the colonial elite, with a few exceptions, continued to exercise leadership.

By the time people celebrated Independence, they were thoroughly enmeshed in the war that would secure it. Wars are flash points that provide unusual access to past communities. They throw into graphic relief the contours of the societies involved: their resilience and fragility, their capacity both to endure and to change. The War for Independence elicited immense communal efforts—to provide for the Continental Army and protect home territory—and it tested the American population as never before. What the war required of individuals and communities—everything from labor to loyalty—and what it left them to work with after peace was declared in 1783, fundamentally affected their hopes and circumstances and profoundly influenced the subsequent development of the United States.

Together, Charles County inhabitants ultimately proved effective at supporting the war effort. They strove to meet seemingly endless requests for Continental troops and supplies, and they also grew adept at minimizing dam-

age from British raiders operating on the Potomac and its navigable tributaries. Plantations, towns, and warehouses suffered damage, but compared with the destruction and havoc wreaked in the Carolinas and parts of Virginia, Charles County survived the war relatively unscathed. Throughout the long and difficult conflict, the elite continued to lead, but only by being sensitive to the populace and by mediating between national military needs and local residents' capabilities and inclinations to meet those needs.

With peace, optimism coursed through the county. Having cooperated as never before during the war, many people afterward turned their energies to improving their society by promoting religion, education, and private and civic virtues. Even the enslaved had cause for a measure of hope because private manumissions and successful freedom suits created the county's first sizable free black population. In addition, men who had served in the army and in Congress returned home knowing more of America, firsthand, than any previous generation. Their sense of a new nation, and their hopes for the future of the United States, found tangible expression in the political careers they launched, the trading connections they formed with Philadelphia and Baltimore merchants, and their promotion of the economic development of the Potomac river valley. During the 1790s local men also worked to seat the national capital just a few miles upriver.

Yet, as one century drew to its close and another dawned, Charles County increasingly showed the social and economic strains of Independence and nationhood. The economy, which had fit well within the British Empire, suffered protracted decline in the new nation. The war devastated the tobacco trade, peace did not restore its earlier structure and vitality, and no one found an adequate substitute. Economic distress had social and political repercussions. During the depression of the mid-1780s, Port Tobacco was the scene of the principal riot that occurred in postwar Maryland. At the same time, because people did not pay their taxes, a succession of local tax collectors, sheriffs, and some of their sureties, all members of the elite, found themselves driven into insolvency. Public officeholding suddenly lost much of its attraction. Finally, ties among blacks were severed as planters, hard pressed to pay their debts and taxes, sold off slaves. So rapid was their dispersal that the extent of slaveholding among white households jumped by one-third between 1782 and 1790, and Charles County earned the dubious distinction of having the highest proportion of slaveholding households in all of Maryland.

Beyond the county, owing to the favorable peace treaty and the creation of a national domain, millions of acres of virgin land beckoned to both the propertied and the poor, as did the rising towns of Alexandria, Georgetown, Washington, and Baltimore. And that brought major demographic change to the county. After having grown throughout the eighteenth century, the white and black populations peaked at 20,600 souls in 1790 and then immediately en-

tered long-term decline. People just moved away—to towns and to the backcountry of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, across the mountains to Kentucky, and on to the fertile Gulf Coast. Outmigration siphoned off some on the margins of the society, but it also lured away substantial property holders, well-educated members of the elite, and even a few of the county's principal revolutionary leaders. On the eve of the Civil War, Charles County had 20 percent fewer people than when George Washington became president, and not until after World War II did the total population surpass the peak year of 1790.

The society left behind lacked the air of well-being, and the self-confident gentry leadership, of the late colonial period. In their place were abandoned plantations, a decaying county seat, vacant public offices, rising costs for poor relief, and a population that shifted during the 1790s to a black, enslaved majority. "The country . . . appears as if it had been deserted by one half of its inhabitants," wrote a lonely wayfarer who realized that once, and not long ago, the landscape had been more inviting, the people more hospitable and prosperous.[6] Many of the opportunities released by the Revolution lay largely beyond, not in, Charles County. From a broader vantage, however, the county's loss was the nation's gain, for those who migrated from the Potomac shores after the war joined thousands of their countrymen and -women from the eastern seaboard, and together they spanned the continent.

Here are some large themes: the American Revolution as a transforming, ongoing phenomenon, civilians' responses to the War for Independence, the tenor of the nation's formative years, and the nature of Chesapeake society. In pursuing these themes while simultaneously attempting to evoke the sights and sounds of the eighteenth-century county, I have adopted a narrative style of presentation. As a result, much statistical data on everything from literacy rates to the distribution of slaves among plantations are contained in my notes and appendix. So, too, references to ongoing scholarly debates have been kept to a minimum in the text but appear in the notes. Where warranted, I have attempted to establish larger settings—regional, imperial, or national—that influenced conditions and events in Charles County or that illustrate commonalities and differences between it and other places in revolutionary America.

This study has taught me the value of seeking the general through the particular—of finding in the close examination of one place the outlines of an entire era. The rich evidence for the county sometimes reinforces, sometimes extends, and at other times contravenes interpretations advanced for other localities or the nation as a whole. Again and again, the people of the county seem typical of the Chesapeake tidewater and of America generally—in their social order extending from slaves to squires, for example, or the general steps they took to protest British imperial measures, problems associated with army

recruiting, and postwar activities directed toward individual and communal improvement. The postwar years in the county also impart enhanced meaning to the idea that the 1780s constituted a critical period, a time of crisis and danger in the political and economic life of the new nation. In these and other ways—even as the blend of persons and place was unique—much of what happened in the county resonated across America.

But the evidence also reveals an instructively distinctive place. For example, when compared with other recent depictions of late colonial Maryland and Virginia, the late colonial county seems more socially stable and harmonious, with a more secure, less threatened gentry. Charles County women who eschewed marriage and maintained economic independence serve as counterpoints to female dependency in early America. Civilians' contributions to the War for Independence seem greater, their failings more understandable, when viewed from the local level instead of the more common national perspective. The Revolution itself appears less tumultuous than in some other places, even in other parts of Maryland. Many of the differences were real. Others no doubt reflect our incomplete comprehension of the past.

NOTES

1. Father Joseph Mosely to his sister, Sept. 1, 1759, "Letters of Father Joseph Mosley, 1757–1786," ed. E. I. Devitt, *Woodstock Letters* 35 (1906): 40; Invoice and Letter Book, 1771–74, 1792–93, Port Tobacco, Md., in the John Glassford & Co. Papers, container 61, Manuscript Division, LC; Buchanan & Simson (Glasgow) to Fraser & Wharton, Nov. 30, 1759, Buchanan & Simson Letterbook, 1759–61, CS96/507, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh (used with permission of the Keeper of the Records of Scotland). See also George Fisher, *The American Instructor: or, Young Man's Best Companion . . .*, 14th ed. (New York: H. Gaine, 1770), 335.

2. Lewis Evans, *A General Map of the Middle British Colonies, in America* ([Philadelphia]: engraved by James Turner, 1755); Dennis Griffith, *Map of the State of Maryland. Laid down from an actual Survey of all the principal Waters, public Roads, and Divisions of the Counties therein . . .* (Philadelphia: J. Wallace, 1795); Samuel Lewis, *The State of Maryland, from the best Authorities* (n.p. [ca. 1795]); [Anderson, Scoles, et al.], *The States of Maryland and Delaware from the latest Surveys, 1799* (New York: I. Low, 1799); "Royal Mail Routes and Post Offices, 1774," in *Atlas of Early American History: The Revolutionary Era, 1760–1790,* ed. Lester J. Cappon, Barbara Bartz Petchenik, and John Hamilton Long (Princeton: Princeton University Press, for the Newberry Library and the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1976), 32.

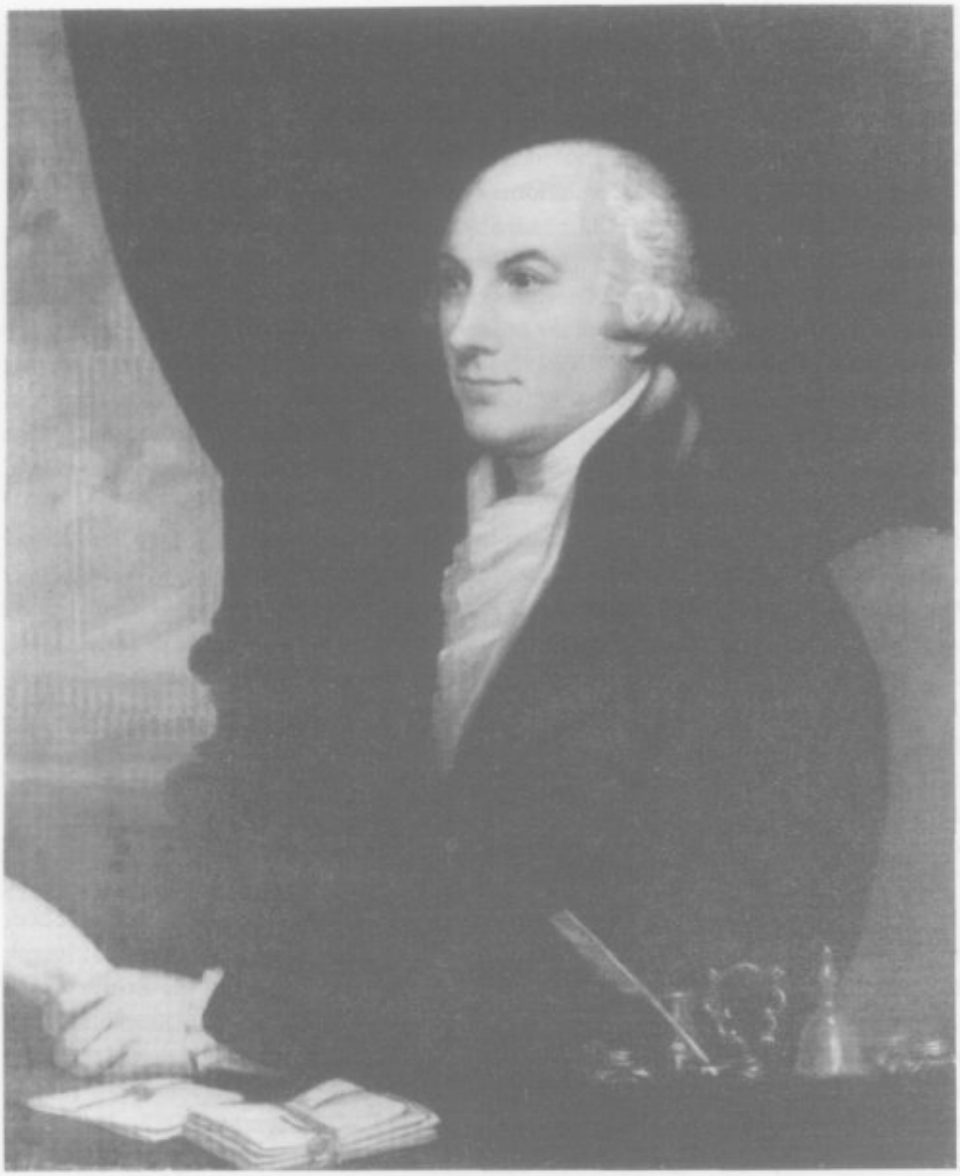
3. Cresswell, *Journal,* 1, 11, 16–19, 22, 26, 42, 54–57.

4. Adam Gordon, "Journal of an Officer Who Travelled in America and the West Indies in 1764 and 1765," in *Travels in the American Colonies,* ed. Newton D. Mereness (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 408; "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, II," *American*

Historical Review 27 (1921): 70; Hunter D. Farish, ed., *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*, new ed. (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1957), 97. For a hyperbolic account by a man who lived briefly in the county before the Revolution, see John F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America . . .* 2 vols. (London: G. Robinson, J. Robson, and J. Sewell, 1784), 2:144–45, 178, 183.

5. The author agrees with Fred Anderson's assessment that "failure to understand the enormous consequences" of the War for Independence "is the most persistent problem—and the greatest challenge—facing historians of the American Revolution today" and with John Shy's argument for the need to overcome a "characteristic tendency" to isolate military history from the political and social components of the Revolution. Anderson, "Bringing the War Home: The Revolutionary Experience of Newport and New York," *Reviews in American History* 15 (1987): 583; Shy, "American Society and Its War for Independence," in *Reconsiderations on the Revolutionary War: Selected Essays*, ed. Don Higginbotham (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 72–82; see also idem, *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 197; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), 358-59. Recent studies that treat the wartime experiences of ordinary men and women, and the impact of war and revolution upon their lives, include Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1976); Christopher M. Jedrey, *The World of John Cleaveland: Family and Community in Eighteenth-Century New England* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1979); Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1980); Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800* (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1980); John C. Dann, ed., *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Joy Day Buel and Richard Buel, Jr., *Way of Duty: A Woman and Her Family in Revolutionary America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1984), chaps. 5–6; Shy, "Hearts and Minds in the American Revolution: The Case of 'Long Bill' Scott and Petersborough, New Hampshire," *A People Numerous and Armed*, 165–79; Alfred F. Young, "George Robert Twelves Hewes (1742–1840): A Boston Shoemaker and the Memory of the American Revolution," *WMQ* 38 (1981): 561-623; Joseph S. Tiedemann, "Patriots by Default: Queens County, New York, and the British Army, 1776–1783," *WMQ* 43 (1986): 35–63; Laura L. Becker, "The American Revolution as a Community Experience: A Case Study of Reading, Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1978). The essential guide to the literature on the Revolution is Ronald M. Ciephart, comp., *Revolutionary America, 1763–1789: A Bibliography*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1984). For Maryland, see Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988), 732–37.

6. Isaac Weld, Jr., *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (London: John Stockdale, 1807; New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970), 1:139.



Joshua Johnson (1742–1802) of Annapolis joined other Maryland merchants in establishing direct trade with Russia during the opening of the American Revolution. Portrait by Charles Bird King. (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Adams Clement Collection, Gift of Mary Louisa Adams Clement in memory of her mother, Louisa Adams Clement.)

Marylanders in the Nascent Russo-American Trade, 1776–1783

STEPHEN E. PATRICK

I think there is a probability of doing business to advantage with America, but before it can be undertaken it will be necessary to know the footing America will be put upon by Russia," wrote Matthew Ridley (1746–1789) in October 1783, the year the American Revolution ended with the Peace of Versailles.[1] Though stated 212 years ago, Ridley's observation has a current ring as American businesses now warily eye the vast and potentially lucrative Russian market in the thaw of the post-Communist era. In Ridley's day the United States, rather than Russia, was emerging from revolution and forging a new political system. Nevertheless, the two immense land-mass nations were drawn in fascination then as now to one another as trading partners.

Instances of trade between Americans and Russians before the American Revolution concluded in the Peace of 1783 were so few as to be considered almost non-existent. Especially notable then is a small group of Marylanders that in the 1770s endeavored to begin trade between the two nationalities via London. This band of Maryland merchants and seamen launched the first efforts toward Russo-American commerce as far back as the opening of the American Revolution, when the barriers of distance, language, bureaucracy, currency, and corruption proved daunting to their success.

Before examining the maritime adventures of the Marylanders who are the subject of this article, it is interesting to note a significant contact between colonial Maryland and Russia half a century before the Revolution. Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore (1699–1751), who came to Maryland in 1732 and sat as governor in Annapolis before returning to England in 1733, traveled later in that decade to St. Petersburg, the capital of Imperial Russia.[2] This was during the reign of Empress Anna Ivanovna, niece of Peter the Great. Unfortunately, we know nothing of the purpose of Lord Baltimore's trip or whether he discussed trade with his proprietary colony at the Russian court.

In any case, the Russians were not focused on British North America in that period. Indeed, early in the next decade their interests would turn to colonization of the western coast of North America from Alaska south to the coastal

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area a hundred miles north of San Francisco Bay. These explorations commenced in 1741 with the expedition of Captain Vitus Bering (1680–1741), a Danish navigator in the employ of Russia, from Kamchatka to Alaska. Russia's College of Commerce only began to look at the issue of direct trade with the new United States in the very late 1790s, when the Russian-American Company was formed. The first Russian merchant ship to the United States did not arrive until about 1805. The Imperial Customs office then moved to exempt the Alexandrovski Factory of any duties on goods sent to or received from America.[3]

Myriad factors contributed to the virtual non-existence of direct Russo-American trade before the American Revolution. For one, the distance between American and Russian ports was daunting. Further, the British Navigation Acts banned virtually all direct trade that the colonies might have pursued with other nations from 1660 until the Americans finally severed ties with Britain in the summer of 1776. The historian Alfred Crosby has shown that only fifteen vessels of British North American origin cleared the Danish toll into the Baltic before the Declaration of Independence; it is unlikely that all of those ships would have called at a Russian port.[4] Crosby has noted that any American colonial trade with Russia would have involved smuggling, and though smuggling was seldom beneath Yankee captains, the difficulty of the distance made it not worth the risk. Once Americans arrived in Russia trade was inhibited by a lack of knowledge of the market or the language and a corresponding lack of connections for negotiating credit. From the Russian perspective, though their goods made up a portion of virtually all cargoes reaching America from England, the commerce would not have been possible without the intervention of the colonies' mother country.[5]

England as Middleman

English trade with Russia dates to Captain Richard Chancellor's arrival at the court of Czar Ivan the Terrible in 1553. That prompted the awarding of the royal charter for the Muscovy Company in 1554. Trade with Russia became big business for the English, slightly outpacing the strong tobacco trade from the Chesapeake during the American colonial period. In the last pre-war season ending with Christmas 1775, Russia exported to London £570,435 worth of goods; the Chesapeake exports were valued at £523,883. In 1776, the total exports to London from Russia constituted £647,736 or 8 percent of the £8,193,397 imported by the English from around the world, while imports from Virginia and Maryland declined to a mere £26,188 or 0.3 percent. The following year, as the war in America intensified, imports from Virginia and Maryland almost dropped off the chart to £41, while Russian exports rose to £669,444 of the worldwide total of £8,258,191 imports to England.[6]

America sent to Russia via England tobacco, rice, indigo, West Indian goods, and furs (largely beaver and otter, prized by the Russians as exotic imports). In return Russia supplied Americans with a large number of materials, principally iron, hemp, cordage, sailcloth, and linen. Americans raised but a small fraction of the hemp required for supplying their burgeoning maritime industry and did not weave nearly enough linen for sailcloth for ships. At the outset of the Revolution, the American iron industry was only in its infancy. Russian iron in the eighteenth century was reputed to be the best in the world, far surpassing the coarse, brittle production of England. Additionally, Russian linen was considered the finest available, a distinction shared by Russian hemp and rope.[7]

Maryland's Maritime Merchants

Given the powerful English presence in the middle and other difficulties already enumerated, the involvement of two Maryland merchant houses in commerce with St. Petersburg in the late colonial period comes as a bit of a surprise. Nevertheless, in April 1776 Matthew Ridley notified his partner Mark Pringle (1741–1819) in Baltimore that he was considering sending their ship the *Vanderstegen* to St. Petersburg. That same month, Joshua Johnson (1742–1802), also in London, wrote to Baltimore merchant Archibald Buchanan (1737–1785) of a plan to send ships to the Russian capital. The reason for such an unusual turn in strategy for American merchants was simple: the outbreak of hostilities between the American colonies and Britain made the Atlantic deadly for their merchant ships. Cut off by the start of war, both Ridley and Johnson sat in London with their ships, captains, and crews drawing wages and running costs up for the firms. With no hope of renewing the tobacco trade with the Chesapeake any time soon, both merchants turned to Russia.

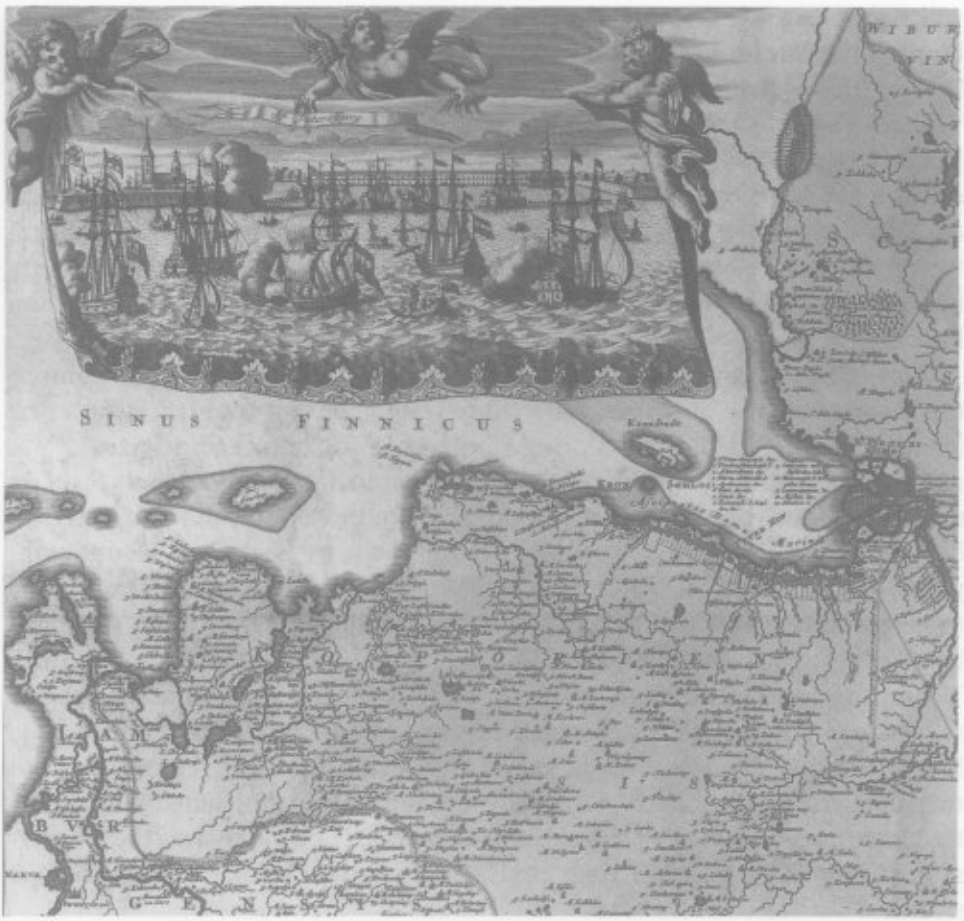
Johnson wrote to Archibald Buchanan, saying that he had purchased the ship *Duke of Richmond*, "and given her to your Brother George [1740–1810] to oblige and keep him in employ[;] we are not fixed where he will go but believe to St. Petersburgh. Your Brother James [1744–1783] is not arrived from the Bay[;] we look for him every day and think to send both together to contribute to them all the happiness in our powers during this time of trouble."[8] Ridley had almost identical reasons, observing to his partner, "As to business it is almost needless to say anything. . . . I intend chartering [*The Vanderstegen*] to Petersburgh. As I do not sell her I must do something: tho' I doubt much its answering: but I must keep her running till something turns up."[9]

American merchants such as Johnson and Ridley, working in London, constituted a fairly new force in the trade of the era. For the largest part of the history of Anglo-American colonial trade, American merchants lived in their own cities from Boston to Savannah and dealt with agents in London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow. In the period following the Peace of Paris in 1763,

American merchants increasingly sought to cut out the British middlemen and establish their own houses in England. Joshua Johnson formed a partnership with Charles Wallace and John Davidson in 1771; the following year Johnson left Annapolis armed with £3,000 capital. Likewise, Matthew Ridley, who had been born in England and immigrated to Baltimore, returned to London as the British half of the firm of Ridley and Pringle.[10] These were daring efforts at a time when the old and established London trading houses ruled the tobacco trade of the Chesapeake, a business fraught with wild economic swings, as Johnson found out in the financial collapse of 1773. The only thing possibly worse to contend with was war. And war was exactly what they had by the end of 1775.

As the spring of 1776 progressed, both Johnson and Ridley, who were friends and often engaged in business matters together, fretted over their fate in London with the captains and crews who looked to them for business. They were cut off from their natural trade with the Chesapeake. Action was needed, but the intricacies of the maritime trade required a merchant to have a correspondent in another port who was willing to engage him in trade, arranging to accept a cargo of imports as well as providing a load of freight for exportation. Johnson wrote in early April 1776 to Captain George Buchanan about their mutual efforts to find cheap labor for the ship. "I have enquired and find that I cannot get any [seamen] here under £3.5 per Month which is too high by much to get any thing by sending the ship to St. Petersburgh." In June, Johnson wrote again to Archibald Buchanan in Baltimore, saying of his two brothers, George and James, that "we propose they shall Sail in a little time to St. Petersburgh, we do not expect to make any thing by the Voyage but it is keeping them employed and out of the way of expenses till matters are accomodated. We flatter ourselves with hopes that our intercourse [with Maryland] will be again opened & that we shall have the happiness of addressing you again before long."[11]

Ridley was the first to take action. On April 26, 1776, he wrote letters to his ship's captain, John McKirdy, and to his relative, John Hunt, with specific orders. The letter given to Hunt demonstrates the immense uncertainty of trade with the Russians. Ridley directed Hunt to inquire into the prices and types of goods available in the Russian market; the methods of payment, terms of credit, and what Ridley called "circuitous credits" through Holland and other nations; whether direct purchases must be made by Ridley or whether the ship could load with consignments, and finally: "If an opportunity, mention to some my designs of attempting something in the Trade if I meet with encouragement—But have regard to the stability of the Houses and credit: and make particular enquiries into these matters." To Captain McKirdy, Ridley wrote that he had secured an arrangement for McKirdy to deal with the English firm of Messrs. Thompson & Peters & Co. for the loading of the *Vanderstegen*. By



A view of the harbor of St. Petersburg, Russia. Detail from a map of Russia, 1734, acquired by Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore, during his travels to Europe in the late 1730s. (Calvert Papers, MS. 174, Maryland Historical Society.)

all appearances, Ridley sent McKirdy to St. Petersburg with an empty ship, which all merchants were loath to do. Demonstrating the friendship and interconnection that Matthew Ridley and fellow merchant Joshua Johnson enjoyed, Ridley's letter to John Hunt instructed him to "attend to the inquiries of Mr. Johnson has desired you to make about Duck, Hemp &ca for America & about the Sale of Tobacco shipd from here." We learn from the letter to Captain McKirdy that "Should you have any occassion for Money you are to draw upon me at Mess[rs] Wallace, Davidson & Johnsons."[12]

Matthew Ridley wrote two other letters that day in April. To the firm of Messrs. Thompson, Peter, & Co. of St. Petersburg, Ridley presented Captain McKirdy, offered that the *Vanderstegen* could take on a freight of fifty tons, and stated that the ship should be filled "as will be most advantageous to me

will be esteemed a favour." He also asked that they show his relation, John Hunt, any civilities in their power. Beyond these overtures to Thompson and Peters, Ridley sent a second letter of introduction with Hunt, addressed to William Porter, another English merchant in St. Petersburg. Ridley indicated in this letter that Messrs. Atkinson and Nelson had provided a letter of introduction for John Hunt to them, and he asked that Porter might assist Hunt and McKirdy in any way possible; if so, he would be very much obliged to return the favor.[13] Through this elaborate courtship ritual of eighteenth-century merchants came a valuable connection with the friendly and helpful William Porter.

Four letters survive from John Hunt's stay in St. Petersburg. They point to the frustration and difficulties inherent in dealing in that country. Hunt's first letter from the Russian capital, dated June 11, 1776, admitted dejection: ". . . was I but acquainted with the language I should admit no doubts or fears on that head—but without it I am nobody." He found Thompson and Peters to be regarded as "the first in Town—I think it the most backward." Hunt complained bitterly that the Thompson and Peters representative failed constantly to meet Captain McKirdy's daily requests for loading freights; other ships had been dealt with far more speedily, he noted, except those dealing with Thompson and Peters. Interestingly, Hunt wrote, "There are a number of vessells here, many that were never here before—and are looked upon by the Old North Country Traders with an eye of Contempt—and are reproached with the appellation of Hookers." Decidedly unhappy, Hunt concluded his first letter by writing, "I cant say I should chuse (or rather) be happy was the *Vanderstegen* to make the second voyage [to Russia] because I think it running a great risque."[14]

Thompson and Peters were to have filled the *Vanderstegen* by the later part of June. Yet by the middle of the month Hunt informed Ridley that McKirdy had stowed iron and was soon to begin taking in "deals," meaning a form of pine lumber. Thompson and Peters had been a near-failure; but William Porter proved a godsend, finding a half-processed load of hemp for McKirdy that Hunt reckoned would provide more advantages than the deals and iron. Likewise, though Ridley's original instructions had gone into detail about the many kinds of linens that were desirable, Hunt confessed that he had not thought buying linens was going to be possible since the good assortments would not be available until September and October, long past the date when ships were forced to leave St. Petersburg to avoid winter's blast. However, he had found a small assortment which was to be stored safely in the captain's quarters.

Porter's ability to help Hunt and McKirdy in the vacuum left by Thompson and Peters caused Hunt to sing his praises: ". . . he is a young Man and bears an exceeding good Character—He is very sensible, careful, industrious and at-

tentive—and I assure you much of the Gent[n]—without filling the Sheet with his good qualities I think him the very person you would chuse to be connected with—and I am convinced as proper a person for business as any one in Petersburgh without exception—I have lived at his House for about a fortnight—and for my own part like him much."[15] Porter's excellences aside, Hunt's remaining letters complained bitterly about the proceedings involved in loading for departure. Despite his intentions for a mid-June departure, he was still writing from St. Petersburg on July 5, Old Style (July 16, New Style). Clearly, there would not be enough time to get to London, unload, and then return to St. Petersburg that season. In addition to the lateness of the return, the length of the stay had caused Hunt to draw several bills of exchange for cash, thus running up costs extravagantly.[16]

Johnson Fares Better

All things considered, Joshua Johnson and company met with far better circumstances that summer of 1776. A bill of exchange for Matthew Ridley had been received by Johnson from William Porter in St. Petersburg. Johnson eagerly wrote back assuring him that the bill would be met immediately, and he thanked Porter for the offer to be of service. George Buchanan and his ship *Duke of Richmond,* accompanied by his brother James in the ship *Nancy,* set sail in June with letters of instruction from Johnson directing them to a Mr. Jackson for the loading of their ships. Johnson instructed the Buchanans, in the event of an emergency, to seek help from the English consul.[17] With this step, the Annapolis firm of Wallace, Davidson and Johnson was on the way to successful negotiation of the intricacies of the Russian trade.

All the while, the American war with Britain continued to direct their ventures to Russia. Johnson wrote on July 19 from London to George Buchanan in St. Petersburg, informing him sadly that there was no news from family and friends in America. News from America reached London slowly and not always reliably. Johnson wrote that "there was a report circulated the other day which says Gen[l] Howe on attempting to land at N York was repulsed with a very considerable loss, for my part I disbelieve the fact, but still am of opinion that something has happened for the Tories are confoundedly disconcerted & pray most fervently for a reconcilliation."[18]

The 1776 trip met with a modicum of success. In a letter to Archibald Buchanan back in Baltimore, sent circuitously via the West Indies, Johnson happily reported on September 8 that both George and Jim had arrived safely back in London. Johnson's papers do not reveal the contents of the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Nancy* for that trip, but clearly it was enough to encourage him to consider the run again for the next summer. Not everyone agreed. Johnson wrote again to Archibald Buchanan, revealing that "We have had a good deal of chat with your Brother George since his Arrival and find that he

does not like the business we had put him in, we have therefore determined to sell the *Duke of Richmond* (if we can without a loss) and to purchase a clever little Vessell for him to run to Lisbon or Spain."[19] George's apparent predilection for warm weather did not abate. On the last day of December, Johnson wrote to yet another Buchanan brother in Baltimore, Andrew (1734–1786), that "these unhappy times distress us exceedingly, tho in order to keep your Brothers imploy'd, we have sent George to the West Indies to make purchases of Prize Goods in which he is Jointly interested[.] Jimmy . . . we must send him to St. Petersburg & in that Trade keep him Joging till something turns up." Keeping Jimmy busy was a concern of the Buchanan family. Johnson wrote teasingly to Archibald on New Year's Eve, ". . . we are glad to inform you that he is far from being as wild as you was fearfull and have not a doubt but that he will do very well."[20]

After the winter of 1777 passed, both Joshua Johnson and Matthew Ridley found that the situation had only worsened in the war in America. Each decided to try the Russian venture again. Ridley returned Captain McKirdy to St. Petersburg that summer. Johnson wrote to William Porter in St. Petersburg in April asking that he purchase hemp, deals, and iron at the best rates possible because Captain James Buchanan was to depart in the *Nancy* in the very near future for Russia. Johnson pressed the point about procuring goods at the best rate possible and as speedily as Porter could manage—to allow for a second voyage to St. Petersburg that summer. Porter, by all appearances, worked very hard for Johnson. By July 29, Johnson was writing to announce that the *Nancy* had returned to London safely despite a tedious passage, and he praised Porter for the many kindnesses that had been extended to the Johnson company. Porter had managed to send the iron shipment as freight for another merchant in London, thus allowing the *Nancy* the income from shipping without the financial burden of carrying the iron on consignment. Johnson was amazed and delighted to find that the conscientious Porter had declined to charge a commission for procuring the freight.

Still, trade with Russia remained a difficult and expensive undertaking, further complicated by the increasing problems of the war. Russian customs and graft left the Americans not a little taken aback. Joshua Johnson wrote to William Porter at the conclusion of the first St. Petersburg venture of 1777, "We are a good deal puzled about making out the Port Charges on the Deals. Be pleased to explain that Charge."[21] Johnson's careful ledgers show the kinds of duties and fees that were paid out over and above the standard customs to be expected, including "Russian Duty, Sufferance for Deals, Order for Delivery and fees in the Wood Farm, Russia Company for our Freedom of the Said Company, Fees to the Company's Clerks," and amazingly, "To the Poors' Box."[22] Added to these expenses was the increase of insuring a voyage as the continuing war made the seas even more dangerous.

Map of St. Petersburg, circa 1734. Agents of British and American merchants stationed in St. Petersburg negotiated with Russian tradesmen for fine linen, hemp, and iron. (Calvert Papers, MS. 174, Maryland Historical Society.)

New Perils

For the stranded Marylanders, the American Revolution entered a dangerous new international phase in 1777 as the Americans sought help from France. (Empress Catherine of Russia had toyed with the idea of selling mercenary soldiers to Britain as early as 1775.) Joshua Johnson's letter to William Porter of May 6, 1777, enclosed copies of all previous letters, noting that the packet ship had been overtaken between England and Holland and the mail had gone with it. This sort of action had caused the insurance rates to climb, he reported, and "the Ship holders talk of demanding higher freights." Captain James Buchanan reported back to Johnson at the conclusion of the first voyage of 1777 that he had seen in the North Sea an American privateer that had aggressively overtaken three ships, one of which was burned on the water, another ransomed, and the third sent on to France. Johnson noted uncomfortably that the news occasioned "a great deal of busle on the Russia Walk [the Russian commodities exchange], & the premium of Insurance has got up to an immoderate height."[23]

Fully cognizant of the increasing dangers, not to mention the ever mounting costs of the Russian trade, Johnson addressed orders to Captain Buchanan on August 11, 1777, for a second summer run to St. Petersburg. He had written ahead to Porter to place his order for that second run, requesting an array of freight beyond what had been provided for the earlier voyages. This run was to carry 160 tons of iron, and fifty or sixty tons of small stowage such as linens, tallow, hemp, flax, brush bristles, and deal. Johnson urged Buchanan to be as speedy as possible and to exercise the greatest frugality since, he told the captain,

> the cause of our keeping you running in this losing trade is merely to imploy you, which the present Contest between this Country & America is depending & that you may be ready to push off [for Maryland] immediately on a conciliation taking place. This you will make known to any American [privateer] you may fall in with, together with our Situation & Connections & we fear not but he will suffer you to pass. But in case you are sent an American, you are not to quit your Ship & on your arrival there [in America] you are to apply to Wallace & Davidson [in Annapolis] or his Excellency Thomas Johnson [governor of Maryland and Joshua Johnson's brother], who will interfear in obtaining you and your Ship discharge.[24]

Captain James Buchanan safely negotiated the second voyage to St. Petersburg in the summer of 1777, returning to London in early October. That year Johnson moved his family to France and began to concentrate on the Franco-American trade, which had begun to demonstrate immense potential for both

sides during this period when American trade with Britain was at a complete standstill. Johnson eventually left France for England in 1785, where he served as the first American consul to Great Britain.

Ridley stuck it out in Britain for two more years before returning to Maryland in 1779. In 1781 he returned to Europe as Maryland's agent to France and Holland, where he conducted a number of business transactions and became involved with both Benjamin Franklin and John Adams while they were in France.

Neither merchant ever engaged in the Russian trade again, though Ridley clearly toyed with it in the immediate postwar period of 1783, the first year that merchant ships from New England made tentative trips into Russia. Ridley considered reentering the Russian trade in the spring of that year when he wrote letters of introduction to several European merchants on behalf of Boston merchant Jeremiah Allen, who considered opening business in Russia. In a letter to Porter from Paris, Ridley mused about the "long time that our correspondence has been interrupted by the war. — Peace now being established I hope opportunites will be frequent & that something may occur in commerce to our mutual advantage."[25] Porter replied that summer. Ridley's response demonstrates the continuing difficulties of the Russo-American trade:

> It appears to me that it must be carried on by a kind of double Voyage, with a Vessell to go from America to the West Indies & from thence to Ortend or to Petersburgh or for a Brig of about 150 Tuns to proceed the first of the Season loaded with Hemp, Cordage, Yarns, Ducks, Drillings, Drabs & Sheeting Diaper of various prices & other kinds of cheap Linnens to America, say Baltimore, & return from thence with a Cargo of Tobacco to Holland, France, or England or take in a loading of Flower [sic] &[ca] & proceed to the West Indies & from thence to Ortend as she would be too late for Petersburg with Sugars. These Circuitious Voyages appear to me the only proper one to adopt for this Trade, and I am convinced that a Vessell or two from 150 to 200 Tuns might be employed to great advantage.

Noting an interesting development that the American Revolution had produced in less than a decade, Ridley added, "We shall not want your Iron & deals, having enough of those articles with us."[26]

Despite all difficulties, direct trade struggled forward beginning in 1783. Two American ships put into Russia that year, followed by three the following year.[27]

As early as 1778 the Russian consul at Bordeaux pointed out the advantages of establishing direct trade relations between Russia and the thirteen provinces in America,[28] leaving one to question whether he had met Joshua Johnson in France. The turn of the nineteenth century would see the trade begin to bur-

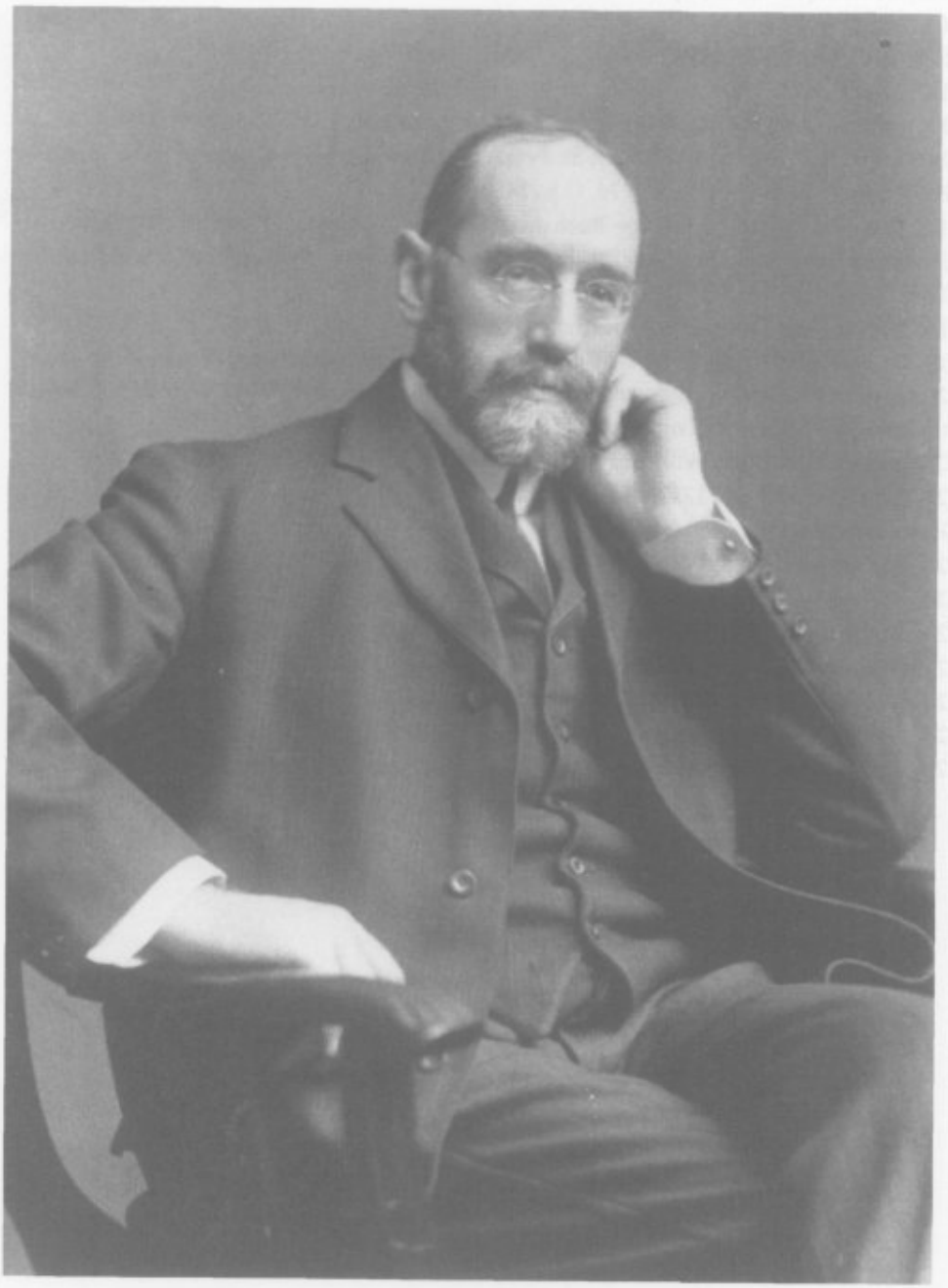
geon. The Russian Imperial Customs extended duty free privileges to merchant K. Anfilatov in recognition of his having the first Russian merchant ship to go to the United States around 1805, in which year there already were more American vessels at St. Petersburg than any other nation, including Russia herself. By August 1811 there were over a hundred American ships in the harbor, and the United States sent 10 percent of all her exports to Russia that year.[29]

Ironically, all this excitement of trade between the two nations on the eve of global warfare that would strain both Russia and the United States, was conducted during the stay of the American minister to Russia, John Quincy Adams, who had first traveled to St. Petersburg as a fourteen-year-old with America's first minister plenipotentiary to the court of Catharine the Great, Francis Dana, in 1781. With Minister Adams in St. Petersburg from 1808 to 1814 was his wife, Louisa Catharine (1775–1852), daughter of Annapolis merchant Joshua Johnson.

NOTES

1. Matthew Ridley to William Porter, Nantes, France, October 9, 1783, Matthew Ridley Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (hereafter MR).
2. Count Francesco Algarotti, *Giornale del Viaqqio da Londra a Petersbourq nel vascello The Auqusta di Milord Baltimore nel mese di Maggio* (1739), Library of the British Museum.
3. Frank A. Golder, *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives* (Washington, D.C.: Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 138.
4. Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *America, Russia, Hemp, and Napoleon: American Trade with Russia and the Baltic, 1783–1812* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1965), 7.
5. Ibid., 7–8.
6. Ledgers of Imports and Exports, London Custom House, 1775, 1776 and 1777, Public Record Office, Kew, London.
7. Crosby, *America, Russia, Hemp and Napoleon*, 6, 14–17.
8. Joshua Johnson to Archibald Buchanan, London, April 20, 1776, Chancery Exhibits, Acc. 1508, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, vol. 2, Maryland Hall of Records, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland (hereafter JJ).
9. Matthew Ridley to Mark Pringle, London, April 6, 1776, MR.
10. For an excellent description of Maryland merchants, see Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution 1763–1805* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975). For more on Wallace, Davidson, and Johnson, see Jacob Price, ed., *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1772–1774: Letters from a Merchant in London* (London: London Record Society, 1979).

11. Joshua Johnson to Captain James Buchanan, London, April 5, 1776, and JJ to Archibald Buchanan, London, June 11, 1776, JJ.
12. Matthew Ridley to John Hunt, London, April 26, 1776. Matthew Ridley to Captain John McKirdy, London, April 26, 1776, MR.
13. Matthew Ridley to Messrs. Thompson, Peters & Co., London, April 26, 1776. Matthew Ridley to William Porter, London, April 26, 1776, MR.
14. John Hunt to Matthew Ridley, St. Petersburg, June 10, 1776, MR.
15. John Hunt to Matthew Ridley, St. Petersburg, June 10, 1776 (Old Style), MR.
16. John Hunt to Matthew Ridley, St. Petersburg, June 14, 1776, O.S., and JH to Matthew Ridley, St. Petersburg, July 5, 1776, O.S., MR.
17. Joshua Johnson to George Buchanan, London, June 15, 1776; Joshua Johnson to James Buchanan, London, June 20, 1776; Joshua Johnson to William Porter, London, July 19, 1776, JJ.
18. Joshua Johnson to George Buchanan, London, July 19, 1776, JJ.
19. Joshua Johnson to Archibald Buchanan, London, September 20, 1776, JJ.
20. Joshua Johnson to Andrew Buchanan, London, December 31, 1776; Joshua Johnson to Archibald Buchanan, London, 31 December, 1776, JJ.
21. Joshua Johnson to William Porter, London, August 11, 1777, JJ.
22. Entry for July 30, 1777, Wallace, Davidson, and Johnson Journal, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.
23. Joshua Johnson to William Porter, London, May 6, 1777, and July 29, 1777, JJ.
24. Joshua Johnson to James Buchanan, London, August 11, 1777, JJ.
25. Matthew Ridley to William Porter, Paris, March 31, 1783, MR.
26. Matthew Ridley to William Porter, Paris, October 9, 1783, MR.
27. Crosby, *America, Russia, Hemp, and Napoleon*, 42.
28. Golder, *Guide to Materials*, 137.
29. Ibid., 138; Crosby, *America, Russia, Hemp, and Napoleon*, 3.



Hans Froelicher, 1914. The founder of Park School brought nonsectarian private school education to children of all faiths. (Courtesy Francis Froelicher, Jr.)

The Beginnings of Park School: The Personal Account of Hans Froelicher

FRANCIS FROELICHER, JR., ED.

Of all Dr. Hans Froelicher's experiences in Baltimore's educational development, none made him prouder than his role as a founder of Park School—that great "experiment" in 1912 that became a wave of the future. It came at a time when the city was in the midst of a school crisis, a crisis with which he was all too familiar as a former member of the Board of School Commissioners, a lecturer on art appreciation and longtime language professor at Goucher College. He and other progressives had resigned from the board in disgust after Mayor James H. Preston replaced three commissioners with hand-picked conservatives, who formed a new majority and summarily fired Baltimore's reform superintendent, James H. Van Sickle.

A personal friend of the professor, Van Sickle had been battling successfully to take politics out of schools, create a merit basis for teacher advancement, and modernize a system that the *Baltimore Sun* had called a disgrace.[1] Now he was gone. The result was that many Baltimore parents were looking at private schools for their children. That was all well and good, but in the case of Jewish children, the situation had become worse than ever. They were either blocked outright or subjected to a quota system.

Dr. Froelicher was aware of some, but not all, of this when a former fellow commissioner, Eli Frank, asked him to a small luncheon meeting in early 1912 to "talk over a certain matter." With Frank, an attorney who later became a judge, was Louis H. Levin, director of the Jewish Charities. The two expressed their concern with the seeming hopelessness of the situation and wondered if it would be feasible to start a new school which would receive Jew and Gentile without discrimination. They did not want a "Jewish school" but did want one that was nonsectarian. Could such a school succeed in Baltimore? It was an electric moment for the veteran professor, himself a keen student of educational methods and theories.

The following statement on the founding of Park School was written by Hans Froelicher in the summer of 1925 when the school was thirteen years old. He was president of the board of trustees of the Park School from the founding in 1912 until his election to the acting presidency of Goucher College in 1929. The statement was *not* written for publication. It was written at

Francis Froelicher, Jr., is a grandson of Hans Froelicher. This material is drawn from his book in progress about Hans Froelicher and the progressive education movement.

the request of Stanwood Cobb, who was at that time collecting original material on the beginnings of the Progressive Education Association and of the movement in education for which this association assumed the leadership.[2]

The Statement

The history of the founding of the Park School in Baltimore dates back to the winter of 1912. Sometime during that winter, Mr. Eli Frank, a member of the Baltimore bar, (now Judge Frank of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore), asked me to meet him at luncheon to "talk over a certain Matter." I met him and Mr. Levin, Director of the Jewish Charities. I had been associated with both for a number of years on different boards. With Mr. Frank especially I had been associated on the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore. Our connection with the latter terminated at the time of the dismissal of Superintendent James H. Van Sickle in 1911 under Mayor Preston. Their business was as follows:

The surrender of the administration of the public schools of Baltimore to the politicians by Mayor Preston in 1911 seemed to predicate a general disorganization and a lowering of standards in the school system. Many progressive citizens who had children of school age felt apprehensive and aggrieved and those who could afford it withdrew their children from the public schools to send them to private schools. Jewish parents however saw themselves practically debarred from doing this because some of the best private schools in Baltimore were not open to them at all, and others would admit only a certain percentage. This situation was both humiliating and exasperating for the Jewish parents. The only solution of the problem seemed to rest in the founding of a new school. This thought gained force. From the outset their plan contemplated a school in which Jew and Gentile should be received without any discrimination. They did not want a "Jewish School" but a non-sectarian school, free from any particular sectarian bias. The school, they hoped, would be patronized by both Jew and non-Jew. They referred to such a School which I think is located in Cincinnati (?) and I believe is called "University School." What they wanted to ask of me was my opinion as to whether such a school could succeed in Baltimore.

Baltimore is one of the most liberal, and at the same time one of the most conservative cities. It has its "old families," it is a center of Catholicism, and in spite of all boast of tolerance there are drawn invisible lines which are not crossed or are crossed only under exceptional conditions. I saw at once the difficulties with which a project of this kind had to reckon. But it came to me like a flash that this was the opportunity, not only to overcome this prejudice against the Jews but also to carry out a plan which might be as well termed a dream as a plan, namely to establish a new type of school. What I told these friends of mine was approximately this: if you are going to build up a private school of the type which we already have in Baltimore, I believe it will prove a

failure so far as drawing Gentiles there is concerned. The school you want to found, to be a success, must be a better school than any now in existence in Baltimore. It must offer a superior type of education, so superior that neither Gentile nor Jew can ignore it. It must open up new fields in education. Give me such a school and I have fair hope of its accomplishing the end you have in view.

Mayor James H. Preston replaced progressive school board members with conservatives who then fired reform superintendent James H. Van Sickle. (Prints and Photographs, Maryland Historical Society.)

I then outlined what had been inchoate in my thought for many years but which crystallized under the inspiration of the moment into a school planned along the lines on which the Park School was eventually, actually built up. The project was entirely new to them and seemed to appeal to them at once. They promised to consider it, and so the matter was left.

Shortly afterwards I was invited to attend a meeting of men interested in the project at the home of Mr. Eli Oppenheim. Whether Mr. Oppenheim was the originator of the idea of a new school or whether it was the upshot of a common feeling with him and his coreligionists, I cannot say. This, however, is undoubtedly true: that he stood behind the project from the very beginning, spiritually and financially, to the day of his death. To his devotion I believe the school owes more gratitude than to any other single factor or person. The meeting was attended, among others, by Mr. Frank, Mr. Levin, Mr. Siegmund Sonneborn, General Lawrason Riggs and Judge Rose. When the meeting was called to order, we were at once informed that it had been practically decided to establish a school such as I had outlined to Mr. Frank and Mr. Levin. The next question on the program therefore was finding the proper head for the school. Names of educators known to us all were at once suggested. With these men I had been closely associated for a number of years, partly in the Educational Society of Baltimore, partly as a member of the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners. Their educational standing was unquestioned and all had held important administrative positions, but they would not fit into the picture of the School I had in mind, for reasons which I cannot treat here in detail. Once again I therefore explained the plan, approximately as follows:

If a private school has any place in a democracy, it is that of leadership in educational theory and practice, to the end not only of furnishing the state and society with men and women educated to leadership, but to encourage

Eli Frank and Louis H. Levin, members of the Educational Society of Baltimore and former school commissioners, worked with Froelicher to bring the Park School ideal to life. (From Jean Thompson Sharpless, The Park School of Baltimore: The First Seventy-Five Years *[Brooklandville, Md.: The Park School of Baltimore, 1988].)*

and lead to improvements in the public school systems of the country by experimenting in new methods and materials. Instead of that, the average private school is lost in a dead formalism and has not progressed in two generations. It is apt to send out not so much leaders as social and intellectual snobs. The public school system which in the nature of the case must move slowly, could not profit from this old type of private school in any way. Yet the public school system needs the example and encouragement of better educational theory and practice than its own. If the people can see what may be accomplished in a modern private school, appropriately housed, in salubrious surroundings, managed by enlightened educational idealists with enthusiastic, capable teachers, they will not long remain satisfied with a stagnant, inefficient system of public education.

I pointed out that the private schools both old and new, if they ranked at all, were supposed to accomplish two purposes: to make gentlemen and to prepare for the college entrance examinations. To the latter end the process of education in these schools was made one of compulsion; the school room was turned into a sort of penal institution. The pupils must learn without any idea why and wherefore; theirs not to reason why. As a result, they accomplished their work under protest, with disgust, unintelligently, with no end of a forcing process and private tutoring, terminating with two weeks of inhuman

The Park School. (From Sharpless, The Park School of Baltimore.*)*

cramming for those who were to submit to the entrance examinations. Their education, I held, was narrow and ineffectual.

In the school I had in mind, I said, there would be no forcing process. The pupils were to learn because they were interested, because they loved their work, because they loved the school, because they were inspired by the highest type of teacher, because they saw the reason of things. Their teachers were not tyrannical taskmasters, small despots, who held a whip over them in the form of low grades, examinations, penalties, but on the contrary, were fellow workers, sympathetic friends and guides. Examinations, at least college entrance examinations, were to play no part whatever in my scheme of things as incentives to good work. I was convinced that pupils educated in this type of school would meet the exigencies of college entrance examinations as incidental to the general course, not as ends in themselves, as creditably and successfully as any from those penal institutions. In addition, they would be infinitely more self-dependent, alert, and informed; they would be intellects, eager for knowing and doing. The school was to awaken in these children an exalted consciousness of their personality, physically, spiritually and intellectually. In and out of school they were to give a better account of themselves than would the driven and drilled product of the average private school.

Further, in the inner workings of the school, the old division into grades and strictly enforced schedule was to give way to a flexible arrangement, in

which the hour could be extended into hours, into a day or even more if a certain subject or project could be accomplished better by continuity to its completion. Classes could overlap into other classes for the purposes of cooperative enterprises. Promotion was to occur irrespective of classes on the basis of individual merit. Gifted pupils should advance in accordance with their greater ability to advance. In such a school time could be economized and the school course be reduced from twelve years, tentatively, to eleven, and later, perhaps, to ten.

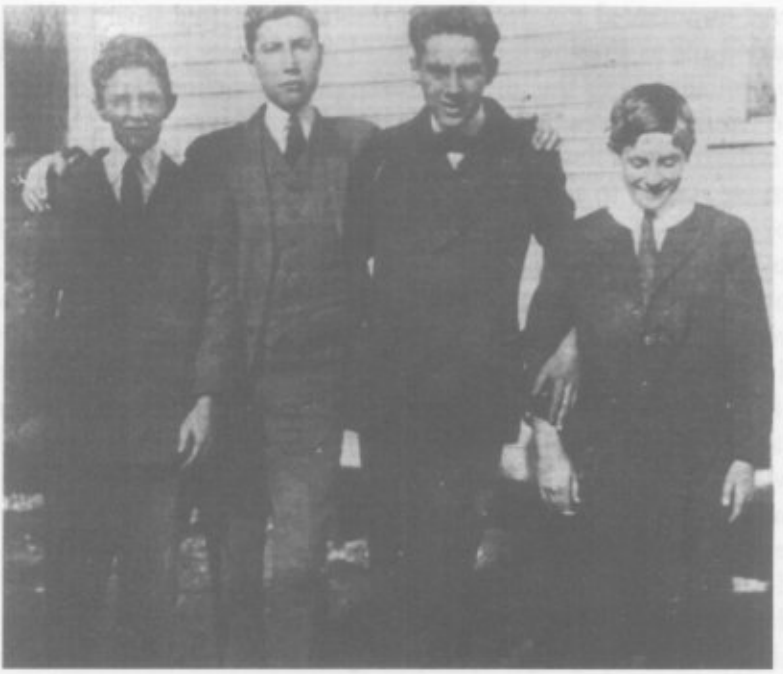
This school, I held, should resemble a plant in its structure and growth, a living organism, in which all parts were vitally interrelated from the Kindergarten to the High School, the growth of each one dependent upon all the rest, and sensitive in each part to the whole organism.

To organize and develop such a school required a man of unusual, of truly exceptional qualifications, such as personality, trained ability, youth, vigor, enthusiasm, resourcefulness, endless patience, the power to govern without seeming to govern, and capable of overlooking the whole organization at any moment without maintaining the machinery by which the work in private schools is usually directed, instead of by personality. The teachers were to be allowed the greatest amount of freedom compatible with the object of the school and its general policy. To manage such a school and to organize it in the first place would require the truly exceptional, the truly unusual man, not bound by education and long practice to tradition, but ready to study the subject anew, without bias, to discard traditional practice which had nothing to recommend it except that it was tradition, yet judicious enough also not to accept the new or try the new only because it was new. He would forge the tools for his ends as these ends demanded in each case. To him the untried would appeal. He would never depend upon sheer formalism to achieve his purpose.

The relation of the Head of the School to the Trustees on the one hand, and to his Teachers on the other, and of Head and Teachers to the body of pupils, I imagined as one of close, sympathetic cooperation, rather than of super- and sub-ordinates. The School in all its parts was to represent a family. Such a school would also accomplish the purpose these men had in view.

These, in general, were the ideas I expressed as to the character of the new school.

After my perhaps over-idealistic expression of thoughts and conceptions of an ideal modern school the meeting adjourned temporarily to the dining room where a buffet supper was served during which small groups formed and discussed the proposition. Upon reassembling, Mr. Frank took the floor. He and the other members of the party had been very much impressed with my plan for the new school and they had agreed during the intermission that no one would be more suited to organize and head the new school than I, and they therefore offered me the position as Head Master of the school with full liberty to develop it according to my ideas. The financial arrangements both as



The Class of 1914, first graduates of Park School. (From Sharplesss, The Park School of Baltimore.*)*

to my salary and the maintenance of the school would be made to my satisfaction.

This was an inspiring moment in my life. The offer had come out of a clear sky. I had dreamed of a great school and of a great schoolmaster, but I had never thought of myself as connected with it in so vital a way. I must confess to a deep sense of embarrassment over the offer. It frightened me. In view of my previous experience as a college professor, my mind was filled with uncertainty as to my ability to take such an executive position with any certainty of making it a success. They did not urge me to decide then and there but were quite ready to allow me time to think the proposition over and to come to some conclusion. The meeting adjourned after midnight. I felt exalted, but also deeply disturbed.

My final decision to remain at Goucher, with the sacrifice of a great opportunity to do a unique thing and a very alluring salary are part of the story, but not in this connection, further than this; Goucher College with which I had been connected as Professor since it first opened its doors in 1888 was in distressing financial condition. Dean Van Meter, the Acting President, appealed to my loyalty and asked me not to leave the college which had counted upon my aid in this particular exigency. It was difficult to reach a decision but it was in the end in favor of Goucher.

When I announced my decision to the newly created Board of the School they elected me as President of the Board of Trustees (which position I have held continually), with the understanding that the School would have my advice and would be developed in accordance with my plan.

This is the origin of the Park School and of its educational policy and practice.

When we started to select a man to head the school, we asked for nominations for such a school from the usual quarters, [John] Dewey first of all, (who paid no attention to the matter), Columbia, Pennsylvania, Harvard, Chicago. The Committee of which General Riggs, Mr. Frank and I were members, interviewed a number of candidates. About that time, Dr. Maltbie, a member of the Baltimore Bar, but just previously for almost twenty-five years my colleague in Mathematics at Goucher College, a man of high qualifications, suggested to Mr. Frank a young mathematician, Eugene R. Smith. He had learned to know Mr. Smith at the meetings of the Mathematical Society of the Middle States and Maryland. Mr. Smith was at that time about thirty-five years old and Head of the Mathematics Department of the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. He had previously occupied the same position in the High School at Montclair, New Jersey. He was a charming and very capable young man, openminded, tolerant, progressive and a gentleman. We invited Mr. Smith to come to Baltimore for an interview. In my letter to him I explained the character of the school contemplated. The interview was favorable on both sides. We offered him the position and he accepted. Mr. Smith entered upon his duties the following summer.

The first home of the School was a stately old mansion on the edge of Druid Hill Park. The location was selected partly because the Park would serve as a playground and Campus in the absence of a Campus of our own. This location led to its being named the Park School. This was also in accordance with the plan to make the school a "country day School" the type originated by the Gilman Country Day School in Baltimore. I may add that neither Mr. Smith nor his successors at the Park School excepting Mr. Snyder had any definite knowledge of the principles which underly this type of school. The Bureau of Education Bulletin on the subject had not been published as yet. I had been in touch with the Gilman development from the beginning.

I may add that it was decided to start the School at once in all departments from the Kindergarten up through the High School as far as we should be able to get pupils. It was expected that the group with whom the School originated would furnish a sufficient contingent.

So far as I know, and could find out in my many conversations, the type of school Mr. Smith was called to direct was entirely new to him. He was progressive in his own subject and experimenting with new methods, but this does not touch the vital part of what we now call Progressive Education. But he accepted my plan as outlined, in the recurring conversations with fullest

sympathy and enthusiasm. I am convinced that if we had not had such an intelligent, talented, adaptable, Head Master as Mr. Smith to organize the school, the Park School could never have been as successful as it was from the very beginning. He proved to be a highly efficient executive both on the side of business administration and in his relation to teachers, pupils and parents. He accepted my suggestions and interpreted them in terms of actual performance both in the social and pedagogical procedure of the school. Before long he made the school an acknowledged proving ground of progressive educational theory turned into practice. Among the private schools in Baltimore the school soon took its place.

Some of the points I insisted on from the beginning:

The employment of young enthusiastic teachers in the "plastic age" for obvious reasons, preferably not Normal School trained.

The Humanizing of class room instruction in every way; study of the individual child, classes limited in numbers of pupils. Under no circumstances, the use of compulsion, threats, etc. I hate tyranny and despotism. The teacher should act as a fellow-worker, friend and guide, not in the relation of superior and inferior. With a proper sort of teacher, this will not develop into that familiarity which breeds contempt. It will rise into friendship, admiration, and a willingness to work.

As far as possible, freedom, self-government, from the lowest to the highest grade.

No rewards and no penalties.

As far as possible, abolition of open grades, and of examinations used only to stimulate efforts especially of sluggards.

No paid tutoring by teachers.

No pupils who belong in a house of correction or in a special class for the feeble-minded.

A new type of Physical Training. (Efforts in this direction so far futile, for in this point the Head Masters are both ignorant and unintelligent, in spite of the results found in the medical examinations during the war.)

Motivation; objective teaching; projects; interest.

Encouraging a sense of proprietorship in the school on the part of the children by their doing things to improve it.

Medical supervision (following the usage of Bryn Mawr School in Baltimore).

Social Service.

Now as to the manner in which I arrived at the conception of the type of education now incorporated in the Park School:

First, I had my own experience as a pupil in my native Swiss elementary and higher schools and private schools both in France and Switzerland. Some of these experiences gave me a lasting inspiration, others an enduring hatred of

certain school practices and abuses. Both of these groups of experiences I called to mind when I was on the School Board. When I taught and finally when the plan of the Park School arose, I had tried out in my own practice of teaching the principles advocated later for the Park School.

The earliest promptings towards a better type of education than that which I saw around me originated in experiences in education in my own childhood and youth and in the observations made in the schooling of my own children. I felt profoundly that not only should childhood be a happy experience, but that school, too, should be a happy experience and one profitable in the mental training and "athletics" but also profitable in the highest sense in a human, a social way and in fostering the growth of the individual in all respects. Such an ideal cannot be realized in the mass, it must be attempted in the small group. Such small groups the private school alone could furnish by limiting the numbers of pupils in a class and giving them the best of educators to guide.

I was such a rigorist for good teaching and honest practices in private schools that more than once I expressed the opinion in the Board that pupils who failed should have their tuition returned to them. The reasons seem obvious to me.

All through my adult life I have been a student of educational theory and the names of Froebel, Pestalozzi and Rousseau were household words from childhood.

As a member of the Board of Commissioners I studied the subject from many angles and visited schools both private and public in Baltimore and elsewhere.

I do not remember having known of the Francis W. Parker School at that time at all. I now remember however that I read a book, "The Ideal School," which appeared in a series of educational books. Not only was I deeply interested in it but loaned it also to Mr. Smith when we began our great experiment.

Another inspiration came from an account of the unique school at Koilhau, Germany, of which Ebers gives an account in his autobiography.

I ought to mention also the Comenius celebration in 1892, and the George Junior Republic.

In the end, we owe to others what we are. Let us not forget it.

The first knowledge of the existence of quite a group of schools which entertained ideals similar to those held by Park School, and indeed of a general movement in the direction of progress in education came to me when Mr. Smith told me of the visit to the school of Mr. Stanwood Cobb, member of the teaching staff at the Naval Academy, who, he said, was deeply interested in progressive educational practice and proposed organization and cooperation among schools of the same progressive trend. To you [Cobb] therefore is due,

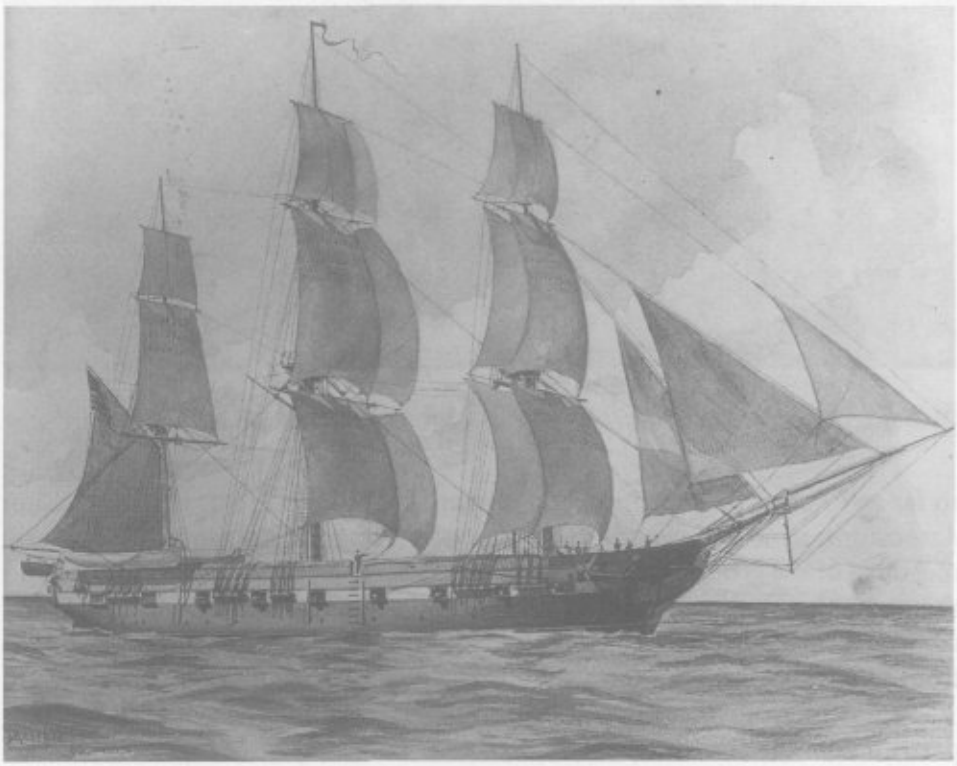
Old English May Day at Park School, 1922. (From Sharpless, The Park School of Baltimore.*)*

so far as I know, the inception and organization of the Progressive Education Association as it is now called. As you may remember, I attended the early meetings of the group where we discussed the principles of the movement and the name that it should receive. I believe, too, that it was you who interested some wealthy persons in the undertaking and secured financial assistance from them.

If I answer your question far more fully than you intended I should, it is partly due to the fact that the Park School forms a chapter of my life in which I take, perhaps, more satisfaction than in any other in my career as an educator. The Park School has done its greatest work even if it should go out of existence today. It has had its influence for good.

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Sun*, May 20, 1898, two years before Van Sickle's reform administration.
2. The statement is in the possession of Park School and is reprinted with permission.



Sloop of war Dale *(renamed* Oriole *in 1904), launched in 1839 and assigned to the Maryland Naval Militia, 1895–1906. (United States Naval Institute Photo Library.)*

Maryland's Naval Militia, 1891–1940

MERLE T. COLE

As early as the Jefferson Administration, the value of state "citizen sailor" organizations was recognized, but the federal government did not act decisively on the matter until near the end of the nineteenth century. Many states bounding the oceans or the Great Lakes were interested in "naval auxiliary forces," and the movement received strong impetus from (unsuccessful) bills introduced by Senator W. C. Whitthorne of Tennessee in 1887 and 1888. Slow progress was evident, however, and the secretary of the navy included a militia proposal ("on the plan of the land militia or national guard") in his annual report for 1887.

The states acted with greater alacrity: Massachusetts led the way by authorizing a naval battalion within its volunteer militia in early 1888; New York, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island enacted comparable legislation the next year. Federal support finally came in 1891 in the form of a congressional appropriation to arm and equip these units. The monies were administered by the Navy Department through its newly-created Office of Naval Militia. Naval battalions appeared in California, North Carolina, and Texas, and initial organizing steps were taken in Maryland and Pennsylvania the same year. By October 1, six states had functioning units, aggregating 1,149 personnel. Five years later, the figures had grown to fourteen militias with 3,339 members.

Congress took another important step on August 3, 1894 by authorizing the secretary of the navy "to loan to each state having an organization one of the old vessels of the navy, together with her apparel, charts, books and instruments of navigation, for the purpose of promoting drills and instruction." Appropriately, this legislation was titled "an act for the encouragement of the naval militia." Two years later, state officers were admitted to federal naval schools to further their professional development.[1]

The State of Maryland mustered naval forces as far back as 1776, when the State Council of Safety and the Committee of Observation at Baltimore purchased the *Defense* to protect Chesapeake Bay from British ships. Several light cruisers, galleys, and barges were also purchased at this time. In 1781 and 1782, Eastern Shore farmers equipped a barge and a boat, and the General Assembly resolved in May 1782 to purchase four more barges as additional naval forces. Maryland navy vessels also served during the War of 1812.[2]

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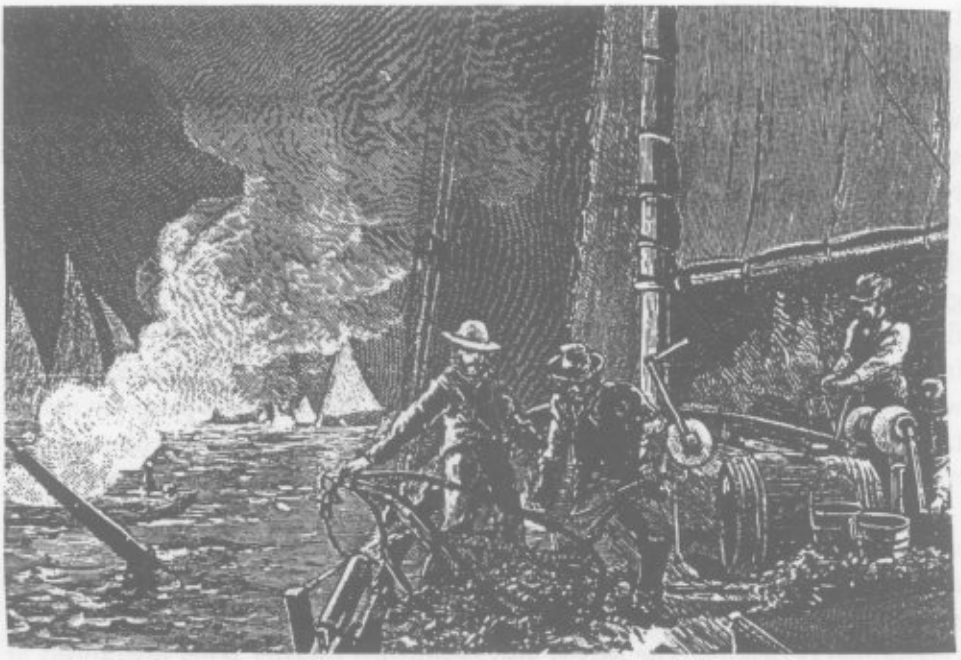
State naval forces did not reappear until the early 1890s, and then, curiously, as an offshoot from the State Oyster Police Force, popularly known as the "Oyster Navy" (see table on page 68). This agency had been created in 1868 under the Superintendent of Labor and Agriculture to enforce laws regulating the harvesting of oysters. The General Assembly appropriated funds to purchase a steam vessel and two tenders for the police. In 1874 a Commission on Fisheries was created to monitor and report on all marine resources. Afloat forces of the state were placed under the commission and redesignated as the State Fishery Force.[3]

Joseph B. Seth, commander of the force, ordered the fleet's 126 officers and men, two steamers, and eleven sailing vessels to assemble at Annapolis on August 25, 1891, for its annual review and inspection. Seth mysteriously ordered the policemen to gather in the chambers of the House of Delegates in the State House at 2 P.M. that day. Accompanied by Lieutenant H. G. O. Colby of the United States Navy, he surprised the assembled officers with a proposal to "enroll ourselves as members of an organization to be known as the First Battalion of the Maryland naval militia, to consist of three batteries. Each battery shall be under the command of a lieutenant and shall contain one lieutenant junior grade, three ensigns, and fifty petty officers and men." The oyster policemen unanimously concurred and elected Seth to command the battalion, with the rank of lieutenant commander. They also elected a staff consisting of one lieutenant as aide and executive officer, and two lieutenants junior grade as ordnance officer and paymaster. It was agreed that units would be situated at Crisfield (Company A, Lieutenant James A. Turner), Cambridge (Company B, Lieutenant T. C. B. Howard), and Annapolis (Company C, Lieutenant J. D. Loker). After all members "took the oath of allegiance to the constitution . . . they were dismissed from further duty during the day." On August 27 the acting secretary of the navy announced that the Maryland police "would be recognized as naval militia by the department upon the receipt from the Governor of the State of a certificate of their organization as state militia."[4]

This reactivation of the naval militia proved short-lived: ". . . it was deemed advisable, as this command was composed largely of the State Fishery Force doing police duty, to disband the battalion, which was done during the latter part of 1893." On October 18, 1893, a group of Baltimore residents met at 131 East Baltimore Street. Acting under chapter 636 of the laws of Maryland (1892), they elected Charles A. Duren as lieutenant commanding, with John H. Pistel and Harry M. Biden as junior lieutenants, and Paul B. Davis and Albert E. Lyman as ensigns. On October 25, forty-six "white male citizens" signed a petition to the adjutant general of the state declaring their intention to become "Company A, Maryland Naval Reserve (Independent)." The *Baltimore Herald* and the *Baltimore American* reported Company A drilling around the Washington Monument and Mount Vernon Square that same month.



Oyster Police boats armed with cannon enforced laws protecting Maryland maritime boundaries and harvesting rights from out-of-state speculators. (Vertical File, Maryland Historical Society Library.)

Duren was commissioned lieutenant commanding on January 18, 1894. The unit was reorganized as "First and Second Divisions, Maryland Naval Militia" with Duren promoted to lieutenant commander on May 8, 1894. Evidently either the structure or Duren's leadership proved wanting, because the naval militia was reorganized later in 1894 as the "First Naval Battalion," with Isaac E. Emerson commissioned in the grade of commander on September 18. (Duren continued as lieutenant commander.)[5]

Oddly, Maryland statutes permitted militia units to exist outside the structure of the Maryland National Guard. This allowed a degree of freedom but deprived such units of any claim upon state appropriations. In the interim, however, the Maryland Naval Militia (MNM) did benefit from limited United States Navy support. Battalion headquarters was first in Hollins Hall. On January 3, 1895, Emerson signed for receipt of the fifteen-gun sloop of war USS *Dale* at the Washington Navy Yard. The vessel was towed to Baltimore and battalion headquarters was transferred aboard.[6]

Maryland Adjutant General Henry Kyd Douglas pushed for legal affiliation of the MNM with the National Guard, in part to provide for artillery batteries in the then "all-infantry" land force. Commander Emerson joined him in this emphasis. By 1895 the battalion was organized into three divisions and

boasted a "total active membership of 145 seamen, 29 petty officers, 2 warrant officers and 14 commissioned officers of line and staff."[7]

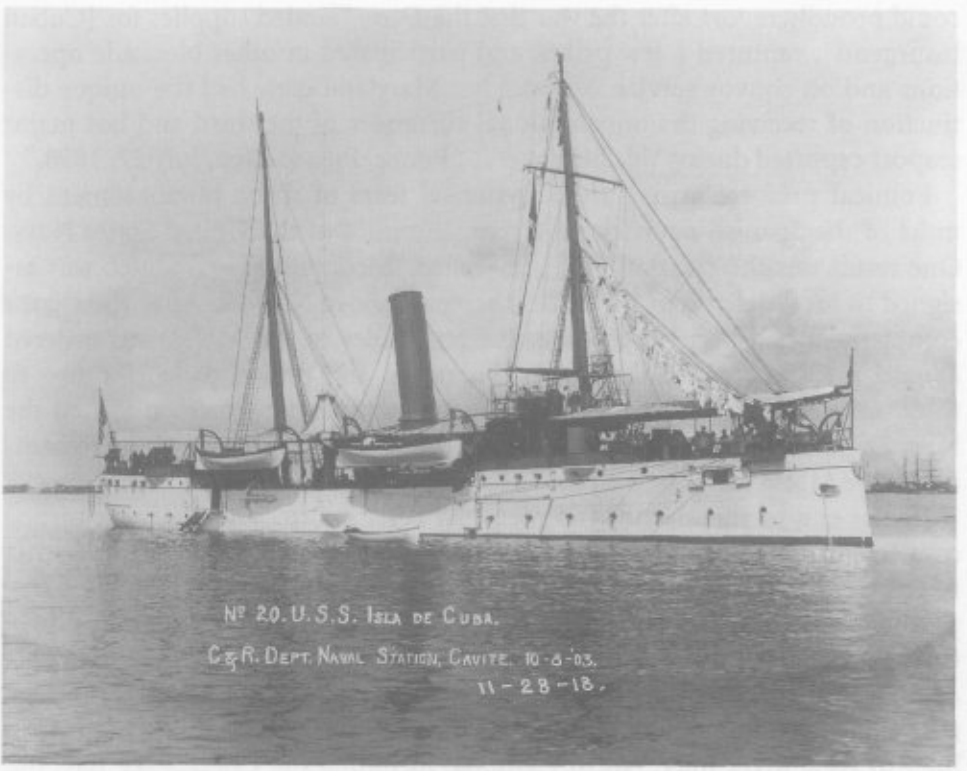
In 1896, Adjutant General L. Allison Wilmer could report that a "complete revision of the Militia Laws of the State . . . [by] the General Assembly at its last session" incorporated the MNM into the National Guard with the designation "First Naval Battalion." The legislature also provided an annual appropriation of $5,000. The inspector general of the Maryland National Guard presented a mixed though largely favorable report of the MNM's first inspection as a unit of the guard. He noted attendance of ten line and staff officers, eleven petty officers, fifty-one members in the First Division, fifty-two in the Second, and thirty-three in the Third (157 out of total membership of 211). He observed that equipment was well cared for despite being obsolescent, that the *Dale* was properly maintained, and that Emerson and the MNM Ordnance Officer (Lieutenant Samuel M. Blount) had both completed courses at the Naval War College.[8]

Throughout this period, MNM training consisted primarily of annual and weekend cruises on the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, and infantry and artillery drill—varied by periodic participation in presidential and gubernatorial inaugural and other civic parades, and service as official escort on other ceremonial occasions. The MNM also performed disaster relief operations at Tolchester in connection with a severe storm in June–July 1895.

The Spanish-American War

When Cubans began their fight for independence from Spain in 1895, with considerable American support, and as relations between Spain and the United States deteriorated, the various state naval militias were "the only readily available reserve on which the Navy could immediately draw" for manpower. The state naval militias furnished "4,216 of the 10,373 additional men taken into the Navy."[9] Militiamen were about evenly distributed between coastal defense duty ("some manning Civil War monitors hauled from the mothball fleet of the day") and filling out the crews of Navy vessels operating off Cuba. Naval militia also staffed all thirty-six naval coastal signal stations.[10]

When war was declared with Spain, fifteen states had naval militias that entered federal service—California, Connecticut, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Georgia. New naval militias were hastily formed in the District of Columbia, Florida, and Virginia in time to contribute men to active service. State units crewed six auxiliary cruisers (fast merchantmen armed with four- or six-inch guns) for the United States Navy so completely that the ships became associated with the states historically (although commanders and executive officers were usually navy officers): the *Yosemite* (Michigan NM), the *Yankee* (New York NM), the *Dixie* and the



Gunboat Isla de Cuba *built in Newcastle, England, in 1886 for the Spanish navy, captured by the U.S. Navy in the Philippines and assigned to the Maryland Naval Militia, 1907–1912. (USNI Photo Library.)*

Badger (Maryland NM), the *Prairie* (Massachusetts NM), and the *Resolute* (New Jersey NM).[11]

In anticipation of hostilities with Spain, Adjutant General Wilmer issued verbal orders in late February 1898 for recruitment to bring the MNM to its maximum authorized strength (twenty-six officers and 324 men). Maryland naval militiamen served both in the Cuban theater of operations and on the home front. In early April, the secretary of the navy requested assignment of eight officers and 167 men for duty on the USS *Dixie*. In response to a call for volunteers, "every member of the [MNM], save one, promptly volunteered to go." On April 23, Wilmer was ordered to dispatch the crew for the *Dixie*. All men were assembled aboard the *Dale* within five hours, then marched aboard the Norfolk steamer for the voyage to the Norfolk Navy Yard. The Marylanders increased the *Dixie* complement to thirteen officers and 266 men. Three merchant marine officers from the *Dixie* were given state commissions so they could in turn receive navy commissions and continue to serve in the ship.

The *Badger* and other militia-crewed ships overtook the Spanish light cruiser *Alfonso XII* and drove her ashore near Havana. The adjutant general

could proudly report after the war that the *Dixie* "landed supplies for [Cuban insurgents], captured a few prizes, and participated in other blockade operations and on convoy service. She and her Maryland crew had the unique distinction of receiving the unconditional surrender of the third and last major seaport captured during this brief war . . . Ponce, Puerto Rico, July 27, 1898."

Political pressure arising from hysterical fears of shore bombardment by units of the Spanish navy forced a reorganization of the United States Navy. One result was the creation of the so–called "Mosquito Fleet," which was assigned to local defense of the eastern seacoast above Norfolk. After the *Dixie's* complement had been dispatched, the remainder of the MNM was ordered aboard the *Dale*, where they were "quartered and drilled daily" for two to three weeks while awaiting further orders. Commander Emerson visited the Navy Department in early May and secured orders for a call-up of the remainder of the MNM for duty with the "Mosquito Fleet."

By the end of the month, 163 men had been sworn. The *Dale* was turned over to the U.S. Navy with Emerson in charge, reporting to the Fifth District of the Coast Defense System. On June 10, twenty-eight of the men were dispatched to Norfolk to crew the USS *Apache*, with MNM Lieutenant Edwin Geer in command. "It was the intention of the department to mobilize a fleet of four gunboats, two torpedo-boats, and two patrol-boats for the Fifth District Coast Defense System which embraced the territory between Metomkin inlet to New River inlet, North Carolina, including the Chesapeake Bay, but before this scheme was carried out, peace hove into sight." The only vessels actually assigned to the district were the the *Apache*, the *Ajax* and the *Sylph*, with the *Dale* as "Reserve Ship." In June 1898, Congress authorized formation of an auxiliary naval force, and the Coast Defense System was transferred to it. Captain Jonathan R. Bartlett was designated commander. On July 12, the secretary of the navy designated Emerson "assistant to the Chief of the United States Auxiliary Naval Force" and commander of the Fifth District, with headquarters aboard the *Dale* at Baltimore. Emerson held that post until he was honorably discharged on November 2, 1898.[12]

As one historian has observed, "The Spanish-American War was the highpoint and climax of the Naval Militia Movement. The Militiamen . . . proved . . . their worth to the country and to the Navy."[13]

The navy promptly returned the *Dale* to Maryland after the war, and also assigned the *Sylvia*, a converted yacht with war service. In 1900 the General Assembly enacted a law expanding the MNM to brigade strength, to consist of two battalions and six divisions. Each battalion was authorized a maximum of 324 enlisted men, and the commanding officer's grade was increased to captain. The MNM resumed its ceremonial parade and escort/training and cruising routine, but its activities soon developed a more sophisticated flavor. The quality of the force evidently improved as well. After one MNM annual cruise,

Maryland's Naval Militia guarded the waterfront district during the Great Baltimore Fire in 1904. (Prints and Photographs, Maryland Historical Society.)

the navy ship commander reported to the Navy Department, "'This is one of the best organizations we have taken out for instruction, and any help that the United States government or the State of Maryland may give [it] will be money well spent.'"

During the period February 10–23, 1904, naval militiamen "guarded the district bounded by the waterfront on the south, Pratt street, from Bowley's wharf to West Falls avenue on the north, and West Falls avenue to the east," in conjunction with the "Great Baltimore Fire." Eighteen officers and a hundred enlisted men served during this emergency, and the brigade commander noted proudly than no men were on sick call.

In June 1905, the MNM participated in joint army-navy coast defense exercises against Baltimore, Washington, and Hampton Roads. The Navy Department approved MNM participation and provided the *Siren* and the *Hornet* for their use in addition to the *Sylvia*, which reported to the Coast Squadron of the North Atlantic Fleet at Solomons. The District of Columbia Naval Militia also took part in the maneuvers. The MNM again participated in coast defense exercises during 1907.

During these inter-war years the MNM trained in fleet battle practice and repelled mock torpedo boat attacks with naval militias from North and South Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the District of Columbia in Tangier

Sound in July 1908; participated in joint navy-naval militia exercises at Gardiner's Bay (Long Island Sound) in July 1911; and sailed to Hampton Roads on February 21–23, 1909, to meet the "Great White Fleet" returning from its famous worldwide cruise.[14]

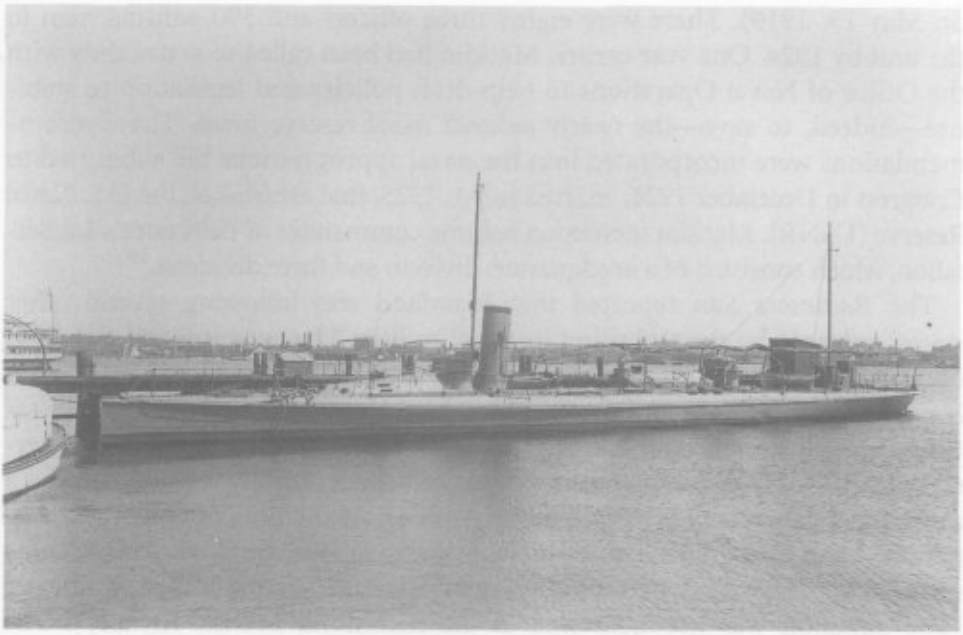
History may have come close to repeating itself when Adjutant General Clinton L. Riggs recommended in his biennial report for 1906–1907 that "favorable consideration" be given "in the future [to] a plan for enrolling the State Fishery Force as a part of the Naval Militia. This force might be enlisted, and with the boats assigned for its use, might be organized into a Naval Reserve which would be subject to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief in case of war or internal disturbances."[15]

There is no evidence that this proposal was, in fact, seriously entertained. Perhaps memories of the experiment in 1891–1893 with General Seth's command exercised a restraining influence.

World War I

On the federal level, a true naval reserve was gradually created during the years leading up to World War I. In August 1912, Congress authorized a naval medical reserve corps, followed in 1913 by a dental reserve corps. Legislation for a general reserve composed of honorably discharged navy veterans was passed on March 3, 1915. These reservists had no training obligation other than annual one- or two-month cruises aboard navy vessels. But because insufficient manpower was garnered, another law was enacted on August 29, 1916, establishing the Naval Reserve Force, with six classes of personnel. "The Naval Militia was federalized under this act, and was known as the National Naval Volunteers, but later [July 1, 1918] . . . the National Naval Volunteers were transformed to Class 2 of the Naval Reserve Force thereby wiping out all distinction between the Naval Militia and the Naval Reserve Force." Substantial manpower came into the navy from state militias during World War I. From the twenty-four states having naval militias in April 1917, 666 officers and 9,500 enlisted men volunteered. By the end of that year, the Naval Reserve had grown to more than 49,000 officers and men, of whom 16,000 came from the naval militias.[16]

At 6 P.M. on April 6, 1917, the day the United States declared war on Germany, the Navy Department dispatched a telegram to Maryland Adjutant General Henry M. Warfield for mobilization of the MNM. The order was transmitted to Commander Charles F. Macklin, who by midnight "reported his command organized" at the Howard Street Armory. Three days later, the militiamen entrained for Philadelphia and reported to the battleship *Missouri* at the navy yard. They subsequently lost all state identity, becoming submerged in the overall federal naval force. By June 1917, additional recruiting had permitted activation of four more MNM divisions. The recruits encamped



Torpedo boat Somers *(TB-22), launched in Elbing, Germany, in 1897, purchased by the U.S. Navy in March 1898, and assigned to the Maryland Naval Militia 1909–1914. Photograph taken in Baltimore Harbor, July 13, 1913. (USNI Photo Library.)*

and trained at Saunders Range (near Glen Burnie) until September, when they were transferred to the Norfolk training station. Macklin was later appointed executive officer of the training station.[17]

An interesting historical sidelight occurred in August 1917, when the Maryland Conservation Commission entered an agreement with the U.S. Navy "whereby the State Fishery Force became a unit of the Navy. Commanded by a member of the commission who was commissioned a Lieutenant in the Navy, the force was officially designated Squadron Eight of the Fifth Naval District." The navy assumed all operating costs of the force, and the members "were given a wonderful opportunity to serve in close co-operation with a well-organized, militant, and efficient organization." The State Fishery Force was returned to Maryland control when the war ended in November 1918, but wartime cooperation continued to pay dividends. When a force patrol boat was damaged by fire in 1919, the navy loaned Maryland a replacement vessel until repairs could be completed.[18]

The Militia and the Naval Reserve

A U.S. Naval Reserve Force unit was organized at Baltimore after World War I, commanded by Macklin (who had been promoted to captain USNRF

on May 13, 1919). There were eighty-three officers and 390 enlisted men in the unit by 1924. One year earlier, Macklin had been called to active duty with the Office of Naval Operations to help draft policies and legislation to stabilize—indeed, to save—the nearly defunct naval reserve force. These recommendations were incorporated into the naval appropriations bill submitted to Congress in December 1924, enacted July 1, 1925, that established the U.S. Naval Reserve (USNR). Macklin thereupon became commander of Baltimore's 1st Battalion, which consisted of a headquarters division and three divisions.[19]

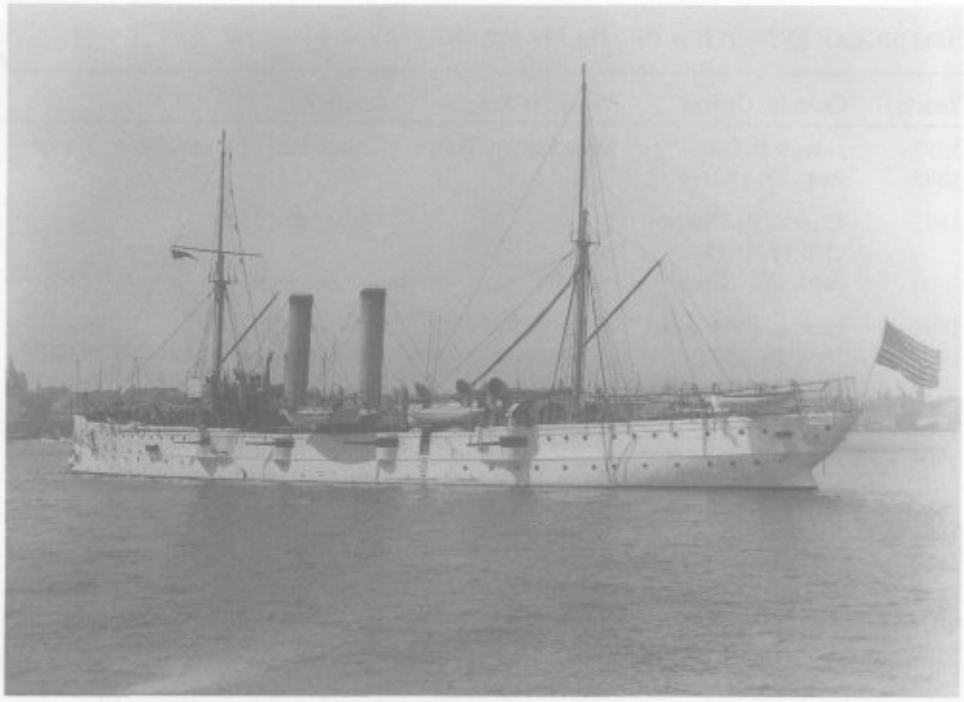
The *Baltimore Sun* reported that Maryland was following several other states' example by reestablishing its naval militia. The occasion was the city's observance of Navy Day on October 27, 1937. The 1st Battalion USNR, Fifth Naval District, became 1st Battalion Maryland Naval Militia, "a dual organization of Naval Reserve and Naval Militia." Following an inspection by Governor Harry W. Nice, the men were sworn, and the ceremony was followed by a review and dance at the Howard Street Armory. At the time of this dual designation, Lieutenant (later lieutenant commander) George H. Burnham commanded approximately two hundred reservists organized into three divisions. (The battalion was headquartered at the Richmond Market Armory). The Sunpapers observed that this action would make the USNR unit available for state duty, such as "service on the oyster beds in Maryland waters." However, state militia status seems to have been mere window dressing. Militia status was conferred by gubernatorial executive order rather than legislation, and there is no evidence that the USNR performed any state function or was even officially recognized (beyond provision for an armory) as a state entity.[20]

At the outbreak of World War II, naval militias went on active duty in USNR status, again losing all state identity.

> On October 14, 1940, the first organized divisions were called to duty, and, from that date on, divisions were ordered as needed. The Second Division of the Organized Reserve of Baltimore, Maryland, was the first unit mobilized. On less than 48 hours notice, it proceeded to New York City as a unit, embarked on October 19, 1940, and headed for the [Panama] Canal Zone.[21]

The demise of the naval militia movement following World War II is evident in the fact that, although a handful of states supported such forces as late as the 1960s, only New York (always at the forefront of the movement) currently maintains a federally-recognized naval militia.[22] As one historian observed:

> Ultimately, of course, the technical nature of sea warfare doomed the [Naval] Militia. . . . With the establishment of the modern Naval Reserve in 1915, the Navy Department saw little future need for citizen sailors not under their direct control. The Naval Militia could not survive without Federal appropriations, because in thirty years of ex-



Cruiser Montgomery *(C-9), launched in 1891 by Columbia Iron Works, Baltimore, and assigned to the Maryland Naval Militia 1914–1918. (USNI Photo Library.)*

> istence, from 1888 to 1918, it never demonstrated to the states any political advantage in maintaining sea-going National Guardsmen.[23]

Another view, somewhat broader, holds that navies are just too inherently different from ground forces to rationally permit decentralized control.

> Navies have traditionally been national rather than locally based organizations. The Anglo-American tradition of armies as an outgrowth of locally based and recruited militia results in a comparatively greater understanding of and affinity for Reserves in the ground forces (and in the air forces, which are twentieth-century organizational spinoffs from the ground forces). Navies, requiring massive capital investment in ships and shore facilities, and acting on behalf of the central government at sea rather than on behalf of local interests, do not have a tradition welling up from below. A 'Naval National Guard,' for example, is difficult to visualize for both technical and political reasons.[24]

The MNM's spiritual descendent is the Naval Reserve Readiness Center, Fort McHenry. State naval militias may be extinct, but their offspring—the

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE MARYLAND NAVAL MILITIA

Year(s)	Comdg. Officer	Vessel(s) Assigned	Remarks
1891–1893	Joseph B. Seth Aug. 25, 1891–?	State Fishery Force	Comprised of State Fishery Force
1893	Charles A. Duren Oct. 18, 1893–Sept. 17, 1894	?	Disbanded 1893
1894–1901	Isaac E. Emerson Sept. 18, 1894–April 23, 1901	Sloop of war *Dale,* steam yacht *Sylvia*	*Dale* assigned 1895; *Sylvia* assigned December 19, 1898
1901–1906	Edwin Geer Apr. 23, 1901–Feb. 25, 1906	Sloop of war *Dale,* steam yacht *Sylvia*	Dale renamed *Oriole* Nov. 30, 1904
1906–1910	Frederick H. Wagner Apr. 3, 1906–Aug. 1910	*Oriole, Sylvia,* monitor *Miantonomoh,* gunboat *Isla de Cuba,* torpedo boat *Somers*	*Sylvia* transferred Dec. 6, 1907; *Miantonomoh* assigned 1906–Apr. 9, 1907; *Isla de Cuba* assigned Mar. 21, 1907; *Somers* assigned June 26, 1909; Oriole struck from Navy List Feb. 27, 1906 and transferred to Coast Guard Baltimore station
1910–1912	Charles J. Fallon Aug. 1910–Apr. 9, 1912	*Isla de Cuba, Somers*	*Isla de Cuba* transferred Apr. 1912
1912–1916	Ralph Robinson Apr. 9, 1912–Jan. 25, 1916	*Somers,* cruiser *Montgomery*	*Montgomery* assigned 1914; *Somers* returned to navy 1914
1916–1932	Charles F. Macklin Apr. 12, 1916–Mar. 1, 1932	*Montgomery,* monitor *Cheyenne,* patrol craft *Eagle No. 56*	*Montgomery* returned to navy 1918; *Cheyenne* assigned Sept. 2, 1920, returned to navy Jan. 21, 1926; *Eagle No. 56* assigned July 1925
1932–1936	A. M. Morris Mar. 1, 1932–Jan. 1, 1936	*Eagle No. 56*	
1936	John S. Fulton, Jr. Jan. 1, 1936–Feb. 4, 1936	*Eagle No. 56*	Fulton died shortly after assuming command
1936–1940	George H. Burnham Feb. 4, 1936–	Eagle No. 56	Called to active federal duty in USNR status Oct. 18, 1940

Ship data are taken from U.S. Navy Dept. *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships,* 8 vols. (1959–1981), 2:101, 233, 281–82; 3::466; 4:348–49, 391–93, 428; 5:170; 6:550, 707–8, 744–47.

United States Naval Reserve—continues to play a vital role in securing America's sea lines of communication.

NOTES

1. Charles Oscar Paullin, *Paullin's History of Naval Administration, 1775–1911* (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute, 1968), 425–26; Commander J. A. Schofield, "The U.S. Naval Reserve Force: Why It Is, What It Is, What It Ought to Be," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, 50 (Sept. 1924): 1453–72 (hereafter *USNIP*); Kevin R. Hart, "Towards A Citizen Sailor: The History of the Naval Militia Movement, 1888–1898," *American Neptune*, 33 (Oct. 1973): 258–79; James Hessman, "Background for the Future of the U.S. Naval Reserve," *USNIP*, 104 (May 1978): 144–57; Harold T. Wieand, "The History of the Development of the United States Naval Reserve, 1889–1941" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1952), 3–28.

2. Frank B. Culver (comp.), *Historical Sketch of the Militia of Maryland with Brief Biographies of the Adjutants General of the State*, in, Md. Adj. Gen., *Report of the Adjutant-General of Maryland, 1906–1907* (Baltimore: King Bros, 1907), 277–78 (cited hereafter as *RAG* by year); *Historical and Pictorial Review of the National Guard and Naval Militia of the United States: State of Maryland, 1940* (Baton Rouge: Army and Navy Publishing Co., 1940), xix.

3. John W. Carman, "The Origin and History of the Maryland State Marine Police," *Maryland Conservationist*, 42 (July–Aug. 1965): 12–16. See also John R. Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of Chesapeake Bay* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1981).

4. *Baltimore Sun*, August 2, 26, and 27, 1891 (supplement), 1–2. Seth complained in 1891 that local magistrates were frustrating attempts to deal with violators and "undermining the effectiveness and morale of his men." Carman, "Origin and History of the Maryland State Marine Police," 14.

5. Culver, *Historical Sketch of the Militia of Maryland*, 278; *Historical and Pictorial Review*, xix; Maryland Hall of Records, File SSU 0937 MdHR 50,058-1 2/6/4/41, Adjutant General's Papers (Naval Papers), 1893–1898 Naval Battalion and Brigade, Appendix C to Annual Report of 1897 (cited hereafter by MdHR number). For Duren's continued service, see *RAG*, 1895, 35.

6. Culver, *Historical Sketch of the Militia of Maryland*, 279; Emerson to Douglas, January 4 and 8, 1895, and January 13, 1896, MdHR 50,058-1; U.S., Navy Dept., *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships* (Washington: Naval History Division, 1963; repr. 1969), 2:233 and 8:488–89.

7. *RAG*, 1892, 3–4; 1893, 4; 1895, 4–5, 19, 21–22. For the fixation on artillery in connection with riot duty, see William H. Riker, *Soldiers of the States: The Role of the National Guard in American Democracy* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1957), 52–53; and Major Winthrop Alexander, "Ten Years of Riot Duty," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, 19 (July 1896): 36–39.

8. *RAG*, 1896, 4, 33, 51–52.

9. Schofield, "U.S. Naval Reserve Force," 1456.

10. Hessman, "Background for the Future of the U.S. Naval Reserve," 152; Jim Dan Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War: A History of the National Guard* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Co., 1964), 144.
11. Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War,* 142–44.
12. *RAG,* 1898–1899, ix, 125–28. In the fall of 1897, MNM officers were "busily engaged in supplying the Naval War College with a list of stea ıers, ferry boats and yachts, hailing from this port that would be available for service in time of war." They also compiled extensive information at Navy Department request on different Baltimore vessels as to "their adaptability for auxiliary vessels of the navy." Ibid., 1897, 70–71 and 1898–1899, 125. See also Wieand, "History of the Development of the United States Naval Reserve," 58–60; *Historical and Pictorial Review,* xix–xxvii; Walter R. Herrick, Jr., *The American Naval Revolution* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana U. Press, 1966), 228; and Kenneth J. Hagan, *This People's Navy: The Making of American Sea Power* (New York: Free Press, 1991), 215–16, 233. Detailed rosters of MNM service are provided in Hugh Ridgely Riley and Charles S. Carrington (comps.), *Roster of the Soldiers and Sailors Who Served in Organizations from Maryland during the Spanish-American War* (1901; repr., Westminster: Family Line Pubs., 1990), 45–51. See also "Roster of Officers and Men of Chesapeake Bay Mosquito Flotilla Who Enlisted in the Service of the U.S. Navy from the First Naval Battalion, M.N.G. (1898)," File SSU 0944, MdHR 50,065–10 2/6/5/1, Naval Rolls 1896–1903, Muster & Pay Rolls. Ironically, the MNM executive officer served a tour of duty on board the U.S.S. *Maine* August 18–September 6, 1897. *RAG,* 1897, 42, 71.
13. Hart, "Towards A Citizen Sailor," 278.
14. *RAG,* 1898–1899, 128–30; 1900–1901, 104–5; 1904–1905, 7–8, 137–39, 221–25; 1906–1907, 9, 109, 202; 1908–1909, 6–7, 171–73; and 1910–1911, 7–9, 138–40. MNM reorganization was accomplished in Article 65 as amended by Chapter 657, Acts of 1900. John Prentiss Poe (comp.), *The Maryland Code. Public General Laws* (Baltimore: King Bros., 1904), 2:1521–25.
15. *RAG,* 1906–1907, 9.
16. Schofield, "U.S. Naval Reserve Force," 1456–58; Hessman, "Background for the Future of the U.S. Naval Reserve," 153; Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War,* 145 (table); Colonel R. Ernest Dupuy, *The National Guard: A Compact History* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1971), 103; and Norman Polmar, *Ships and Aircraft of the U.S. Fleet,* 14th ed. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1987), 36.
17. *Historical and Pictorial Review,* xxviii. See also Ensign William C. McKeel USNR, "A Brief Review of the Origin and Activities of the Naval Reserve of Maryland, 1 June 1932," 4, typescript MS in Vertical File, Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore; Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War,* 146; and *RAG,* 1916–1917, 11, 22, 24–25. Macklin had served as Adjutant General February 1912–March 1916, retiring in the grade of brigadier general. He was appointed MNM commanding officer from April 12, 1916. *RAG,* 1916–1917, 62, 70.
18. Carman, "Origin and History of the Maryland State Marine Police," 14; Maryland Conservation Commission, *Second Annual Report of the Conservation Commission of Maryland, 1917* (Baltimore, 1918), 9–10; *1918,* 11, and *1919,* 12.
19. *Historical and Pictorial Review,* xxviii; McKeel, "A Brief Review of the Origin and Ac-

tivities of the Naval Reserve of Maryland," 4. For discussions of the interwar struggles of the naval reserve, see Schofield, "U.S. Naval Reserve Force," 1460–62, Hessman, "Background for the Future of the U.S. Naval Reserve," 153, and Wieand, "History of the Development of the United States Naval Reserve," 155–232. State action in adopting local naval reserves as militia is credited with preventing disintegration of many such units.

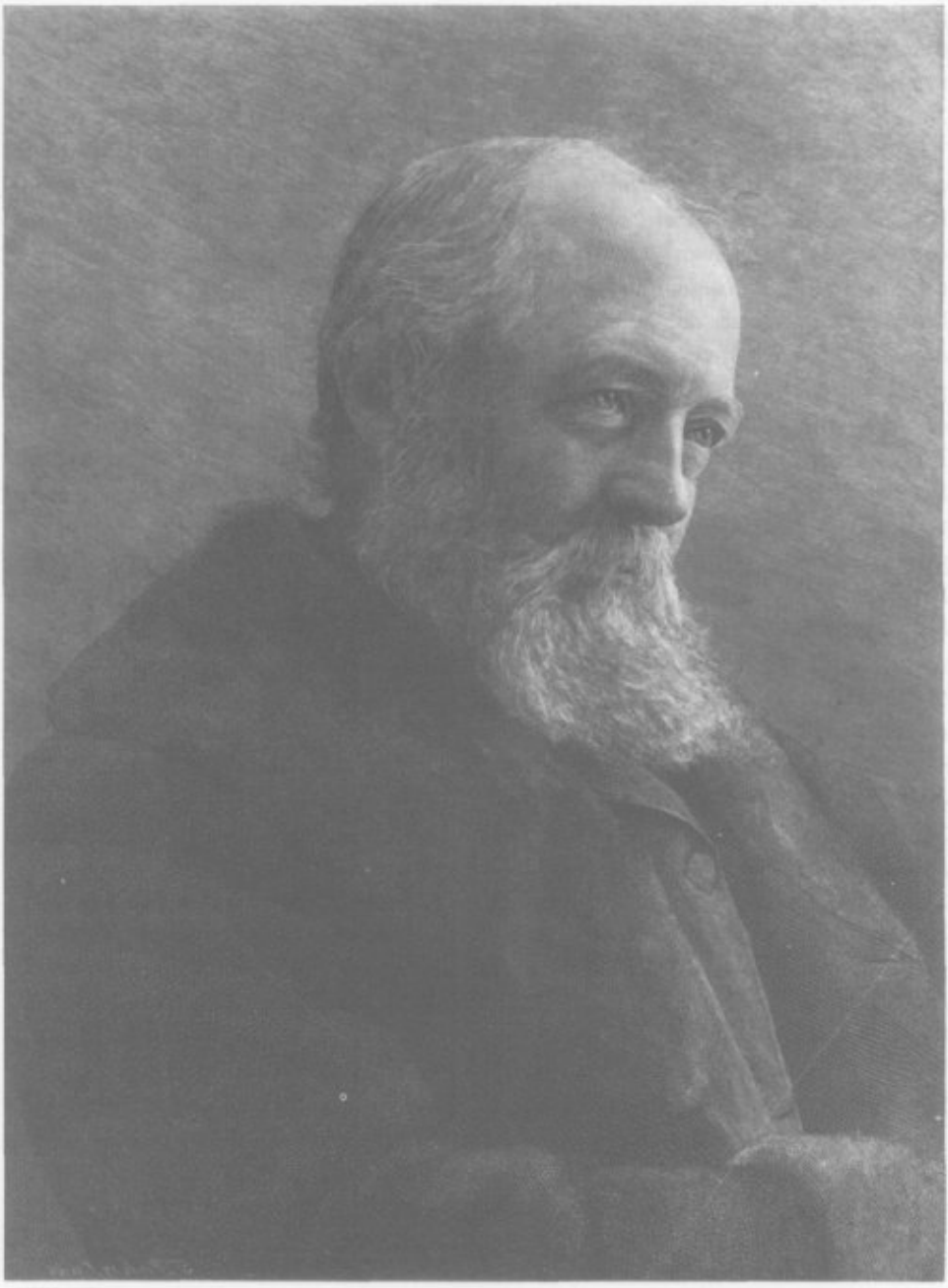
20. *Baltimore Sun*, October 15, 1937 and *Baltimore Evening Sun*, October 10 and 26, 1937, Vertical File, Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library. No reference to the MNM appears in the official *Maryland Manual* during the years from 1937 through World War 11, although that book consistently details the major units of the Maryland National Guard and Maryland State Guard active during the period. See also "Maryland Naval Militia" in card file, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, which states, "1st Battalion US Naval Reserve assumed State militia role in October 1937 and continued in dual status until the organization became completely Federal during World War II, and has not been resumed." The card references Vertical File under "Maryland Naval Militia," and telephone conversation with Lieutenant Commander Henry L. Lippincott USNR on September 12, 1947. As noted in *Historical and Pictorial Review*, xxviii, "Since the re-establishment of the Maryland Naval Militia, the city of Baltimore has made available an excellent piece of water front property on Key Highway below Federal Hill, and the State Legislature has appropriated a sum of money for the construction of a much needed Naval armory." The Director of Naval Reserve was highly critical of state–supplied armories: "the only excuse for a Naval Militia, as far as the Navy Department is concerned, is to obtain a State Armory for the Naval Reserves. This creates confusion in the minds of reservists because they get the idea that they are State forces. The Adjutant Generals [*sic*] of the States, having responsibility of seeking funds for the armories, also gain the impression that they have something to do with . . . Naval Reserve Administration." Wieand, "History of the Development of the United States Naval Reserve," 280.

21. Wieand, "History of the Development of the United States Naval Reserve," 309. See also Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War*, 146.

22. National Guard Bureau, Historical Services Section, telephone conversation with author, August 25, 1993. The current federal legal authorities for naval militias are 10 USC § 311 and 10 USC § 7851–7854. State authority is present in 65 Annotated Code Md. § 7 and § 56. Illinois and Connecticut were also supporting naval militias as late as 1963. Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War*, 147.

23. Hart, "Towards A Citizen Sailor," 279.

24. Bennie J. Wilson III (ed.), *The Guard and Reserve in the Total Force: The First Decade, 1973–1983* (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1985), 73.



Frederick Law Olmsted presented the Greater Baltimore park system plan to the Municipal Art Society in 1903. The proposal created suburban parks and playgrounds within the natural terrain in a radical move away from the formal gardens of the past. (Stokes Autograph Collection, Yale University Library.)

Falls and Stream Valleys: Frederick Law Olmsted and the Parks of Baltimore

KEVIN ZUCKER

The town of Baltimore, like Richmond, Philadelphia, and New York, grew up on the fall line, where rapidly descending streams interrupted river transport. Water was the source of life; the many nearby streams nurtured early Baltimore, providing reliable industrial power to supplement the inconstant wind and the straining muscles of men and animals. Only Baltimore calls its rivers and streams by the name of "falls."[1] The streams called falls and the geological forces that created them gave Baltimore its distinct character and sense of place. Perhaps only the founding of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad had more impact on the future progress of the city. No longer important economically, too steeply banked and narrow for development, the streams today show remarkably few traces of civilization and offer retreats from the stresses of life. They promote and foster city life, providing ample water, filtering waste, and recharging storm water before it reaches the Chesapeake Bay, while the surrounding woods cool and purify the air. These are serious matters that affect the physical and psychological well-being of all Baltimoreans and Marylanders generally.

These streams continuously need our help. As preparation for exploring the parks to which they give life (and which in turn give life to us), consider the compelling story told by the health statistics of Baltimore.

As of 1987, Baltimore City, when included with all 3,073 counties in the United States, ranked sixth from worst in annual excess deaths from all diseases, fifty-third in annual female excess deaths from breast cancer. The city ranked second and Baltimore County twenty-eighth from the worst in annual excess death from lung cancer. City and county ranked fourth and thirty-third, respectively, in annual excess deaths from all cancers.[2]

Statewide, Maryland has two cancer cases per 1,000 population, the worst rate of all the fifty states. These cancer rates sound serious alarms.[3]

Among contributing factors, several air and water quality ratings stand out. Baltimore's air contains the sixteenth highest concentration of acutely hazardous chemicals and ranks in the ninety-fifth percentile for suspected carcinogens released to the air by industry; its concentration of ozone is the forty-first highest.[4]

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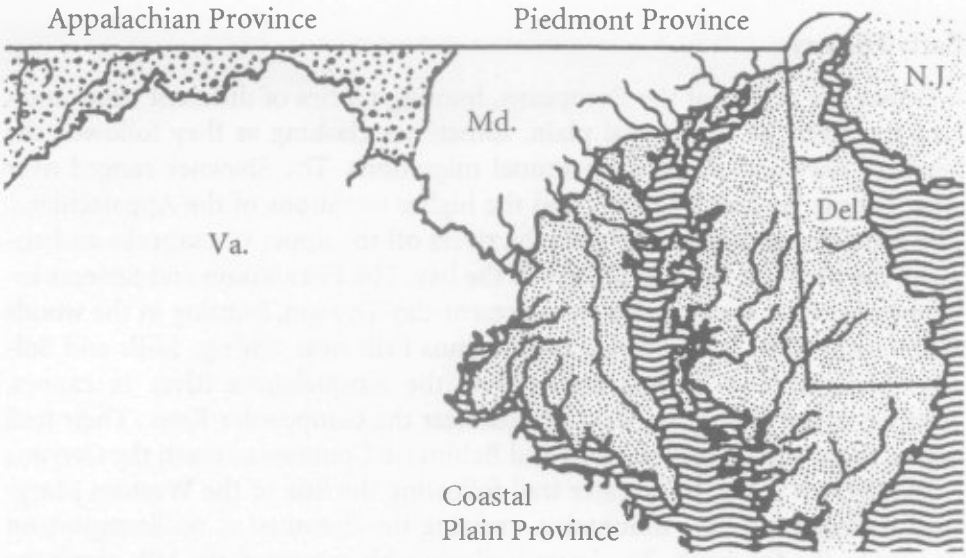
Maryland generates the most municipal solid waste in the nation, and only three states incinerate more municipal waste. Maryland placed eighth in total toxic chemical releases to the environment (at 7.2 pounds per capita or 3,187 pounds per square mile each year). Auto pollution menaces our air and ground water: Maryland uses more gasoline per capita than all but ten states. Transit takes much of that—only two states spend more on transit as a proportion of highway spending, and only four use more mass transit in urban areas. Gasoline-burning engines in Maryland discharge nearly the highest level of carbon monoxide per person of any state; only Connecticut has a higher proportion of population breathing unhealthy amounts of carbon monoxide and ozone.[5]

Maryland's overall "Green Index" avoids, so far, the company of the worst states (located mostly in the deep South). The state works hard at improving water quality and spends as well as the best for parks and recreation (sixty-nine dollars per capita).[6] *Of all fifty states we inject the least toxic chemicals underground, thus helping to reduce serious hazards to drinking water. Ninety-three hundred miles of Maryland rivers and streams suffer serious impairment (7.2 percent of all Maryland streams); only three states have a lower percentage of impaired streams. In a 1993 study, 10 percent of Baltimore County streams were found impaired; 20 percent, mostly in the rural north, were rated healthy.*[7] *Acid rain, caused in part by industry in surrounding states, threatens the waters of Maryland, the eighth most acidic of the fifty states (pH 4.3). At the same time, the Chesapeake Bay continues its decline. Maryland ranks fourth in proportion of toxics to surface water area, and eighteenth in toxic chemical releases to surface water (3,756,283 pounds per year; 0.8 pound per capita or 359 pounds per square mile). Similarly, Maryland placed twenty-second in toxic chemical releases to public sewers (with 3,959,217 pounds per year; 0.9 pound per capita or 378 pounds per square mile). According to the 1991–1992 Green Index, Maryland will need to invest $919 million on sewers by the year 2008, or $200 per capita.*

The Shaping Forces of Nature

Thanks to the shape of its terrain, Maryland has spectacular nature preserves. Several surprisingly peaceful stream valleys meander even within Baltimore city limits. The Jones Falls and Gwynns Falls drain into an arm of the Chesapeake Bay called the Patapsco River; Herring Run falls into the Back River, another arm of the Bay. Folks who grew up with streetcars remember these quiet places from their childhood. Now they are beginning to attract a new generation.

The State of Maryland forms a portion of the Atlantic slope, which stretches from the sea to the crest of the Alleghenies, rising gradually at first and then more rapidly into the highlands of the west. Three sharply-defined regions stand out on this slope: the Coastal Plain, the Piedmont Plateau, and the Appalachian Mountains. Where the Coastal plain and the Piedmont join, the



Map showing the physiographic provinces. Notice how the Chesapeake serves to drain the fall line. (Maryland Geological Survey.)

steep descent created waterfalls. The hills along the fall line arose first, forming natural dams; the present S-shaped course of the streams show where the temporary reservoirs found the low point on the rim. Eventually the water leveled the mountains in its path, scooping out trench-like valleys and exposing the underlying igneous rock called amphibolite, which later would provide the stone for houses and industry in the valleys. Earth washing down from the streams' upper courses continues to fill the lower. This process makes the upper valleys narrow and V-shaped, the lower broad and flat.

Springs surrounded by steep rock walls brought forth the first trickling stream sources. The underground water table feeds these springs, floating together with rock and earth on molten basalt and olivine (as we recalled during the Howard County earthquakes of 1993). Rather like icebergs, sections of the earth's crust crowd together under the forces of plate tectonics. The lifting and sliding of portions of these gigantic plates caused the eruptions of the mountains and plateaus. Streams rush between "terraces," subdividing the Piedmont Plateau. Hardwood trees such as chestnut, scarlet oak, and black and white oak once covered the upper slopes of these terraces; red oak, tulip, and hickory thrived on the lower slopes; maple, ash, elm, birch, and sycamore crowded the valley floors. These forests once teemed with quail, woodcock, wild turkey, wildcats, otters, and herds of deer and elk. "Bear Thicket" and "Hunting Ridge" (the terrace between the Patapsco River and Gwynns Falls) once lived up to their names.[8]

Early History

Before the arrival of the Europeans, hunting parties of different tribes traveled the rivers of the coastal plain, sometimes clashing as they followed the herds of deer and elk in their annual migrations. The Shawnee ranged over what is now Frederick County and the higher elevations of the Appalachians. The Susquehannocks lived beside the rivers off the upper Chesapeake and enjoyed the plentiful fish and oysters of the bay. The Piscataways and Senecas inhabited the hills north and west of present-day Towson, hunting in the woods at the headwaters of the Jones and Gwynns Falls near Owings Mills and Soldiers Delight. The Senecas came down the Susquehanna River in canoes, coasting down the bay to Seneca Creek near the Gunpowder River. Their trail begins there and crosses Harford and Baltimore Counties to reach the Gwynns Falls. There it splits, the greater trail following the line of the Western Maryland Railroad over the mountains, crossing the Potomac at Williamsport on its way to the far south. The lesser trail probably traversed the hills along the Gwynns Falls as far as Frederick Avenue, where it turned inland to cross the Patapsco at or below Elkridge. From there the trail heads past Annapolis and on to southern Maryland.[9] The Senecas followed this latter trail to their hunting grounds in the woods of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, journeying south in June and returning in September.

Master Percy, an early explorer (circa 1640), described the trail as "a pathway like an Irish pace, having beside it for miles the pleasantest suckle, the ground all flowing over with fair flowers of sundry colors and kinds, as though it had been a garden in old England." The Indian practice of setting selective forest fires to improve the hunt kept down the underbrush and enhanced the appearance of the woods.

The European settlement of Baltimore County lagged behind that of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The settlers in the county preferred the uplands of the Piedmont, where there was superior land for corn, wheat, and grass, and avoided the valleys which were restricted in width and not well drained, but in 1666 their population numbered just 720. Within three years, however, new settlements pressed up the stream valleys. Richard Gwin in 1669 received exclusive rights to conduct trade with the Indians near his post along the Gwynns Falls, where the Seneca trail, later Old Court Road, crossed that stream. Recognizing his success in enriching the colony, Lord Baltimore granted a two-hundred-acre tract to Gwin in 1672.

The town of Baltimore, meanwhile, progressed slowly. In its early days, Baltimore could not compete with Elkridge Landing, a more convenient port for tobacco growers. As the soil wore out under tobacco cultivation, flour became the new source of cash. The Jones Falls came to dominate the flour trade with ten mills, each capable of grinding around fifty thousand bushels of grain per

Ellicott's Mills on the Patapsco River, circa 1860. Dozens of mills grew up along the streams as water power pushed Baltimore into first place as the largest flour market in America. (Prints and Photographs, Maryland Historical Society.)

year. Elisha Tyson and the Ellicott brothers owned mills there. By 1825 the eight streams near the city had sixty mills totaling 2,360 horsepower. The tremendous water power available in the stream valleys allowed Baltimore to become the largest flour market in the nation. Massive Conestoga wagons crowded her streets on the way from mill to warehouse.

The rhythms of life in the stream valleys soon made a jarring transition with the advent of steam power. The steam engine put an end to the dominance of water power and sail; steamships began regular passenger schedules before 1813. Meanwhile surveyors discovered better routes for new turnpikes along the ridgebacks above the streams, channeling commerce away from the stream valleys. Surveyors selected the terrace between two tributaries of Gwynns Falls for the Baltimore National Pike; Reisterstown Road followed the next terrace, between the Gwynns Falls and Jones Falls watersheds; York Road ran between the latter and Herring Run basin. These upland routes provided for more gradual ascents, required fewer bridges, and permitted faster travel. The builders of the first railroads also needed to limit grades to about 1 percent. This they accomplished by following the stream valleys, though many proved to be too crooked. The building of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in the 1830s set

off a population boom. Between 1830 and 1858, Baltimore's population burgeoned from 80,000 to 212,000 after already doubling in the 1820s.

The flour trade surged after the B&O reached Frederick. With tremendous effort, the railroad at last negotiated the Appalachians and reached the Ohio Valley but too late, as the Erie Canal had already cemented the financial bonds between the hinterlands and New York. The canal affected patterns of immigration, diverting populations to the Great Lakes region. Once these patterns were established, the railroads of Baltimore and Philadelphia could not disrupt them. Even in 1858, the Erie Canal brought more freight eastward than all the railroads combined. Ultimately, it was not freight but coal from the rich anthracite fields of western Pennsylvania, coal to power the steam engine and smelting furnace, that secured the success of the B&O.

By 1860, Baltimore was a great coaling port. Later rate structuring by the railroads finally allowed Baltimore to attract grain shipments from St. Louis and Chicago, making the city the sixth largest port in the world.[10]

The First Parks, 1790–1860

In the course of rapid growth, certain public amenities were neglected. In the late eighteenth century Baltimore held the dubious distinction of being the largest American city without a public sewage system, and the practice of regular bathing had not caught on. The establishment of the first bathhouses for the working class, who had no bathing facilities in their houses, and the first bathing beaches at Canton, Winans Beach, and the "Spring Garden" (the mouth of the Gwynns Falls), lay many years in the future. In 1790, Baltimore physician Dr. George Buchanan wrote the first published appeal for organized park development. He believed that damp, unhealthy play environments exacerbated Baltimore's very high childhood mortality. He suggested creating playgrounds on elevated land. In 1792 the first public square provided such a playground for boys at Baltimore and Eutaw Streets. Live springs fed the three fountains where city residents could draw fresh water—one on the harbor, one up Calvert Street, and one near Fells Point. After 1812 the fountain areas joined the Eutaw Street square as public open space under city administration. The estate of Colonel John Eager Howard, located on the northern fringe of the town, served as Baltimore's only public park. Upon Howard's death in 1827 the park disappeared beneath Lexington Market, the Cathedral, and the Washington Monument.[11]

Baltimore's park system began to expand after 1815 with the acquisition of a few more "squares" that provided occasional breaks in the blocks of houses. Franklin Square was created in 1839, Union Square in 1847, and Lafayette Square in 1859 on the west side; Madison Square in 1853 on the east side. After its donation to the city in 1827 by William Patterson as a public walk, Patterson Park in east Baltimore was expanded in 1853.

Lafayette Square, circa 1870, one of Baltimore's first public squares. (Prints and Photographs, Maryland Historical Society.)

For quiet and cool shade, city residents frequently turned to the pastoral cemeteries on the outskirts of the city, popular for Sunday outings throughout the nineteenth century. The streetcar terminuses at Green Mount (founded in 1838) and Loudon Park (1853) made those cemeteries popular destinations. There were public "squares" in the boulevard medians of Fulton Avenue and Eutaw Place; Broadway became Broadway Square in 1851. That year, following up on a proposal of Mayor Elijah Stansbury, the city council established a Boundary Avenue Commission presided over by John H. B. Latrobe, a lawyer for the B&O. The commission recommended a parkway around the city circumference, following the example of European cities. They planned a 250-foot-wide boulevard with a 130-foot median containing trees, shrubs, walks, and benches. Though the project failed to win approval, the demand for open space continued to spread.

Newspapers took up a campaign in 1859 for the development of a great city park. An unexpected source fueled the movement: the thriving street car business. A dozen companies hauled passengers over city streets. By ordinance of that same year, Mayor Thomas Swann and the city council established a tax on the horse car lines. As a wholly new source of revenue it was appropriately earmarked for a new purpose: the purchase of park land. The park commission named by the mayor selected a Druid Hill site, on the Jones Falls. Protests

Mayor Thomas Swann and the Baltimore City Council levied a tax on the horse car lines in 1859. One penny from each nickel ticket went toward the purchase of park land. (Diehlman/Hayward Files, Maryland Historical Society Library.)

from east Baltimoreans, who desired a different site, were addressed by joining twenty-nine additional acres to six-acre Patterson Park. The Park Commission, renamed the Board of Park Commissioners, included newly-elected Mayor George William Brown, former Mayor Swann, and former commission members John H. B. Latrobe, Columbus O'Donnell, William Hooper, and Robert Leslie. O'Donnell, son of a successful merchant, served as a director of the Union Bank of Maryland, president of the First National Bank of Baltimore, president of the Baltimore Water Company, and president of the Baltimore Gas Light Company. Like Swann and the lawyer Latrobe, he served the B&O (as a director). The millionaire Hooper, son of an Irish emigrant, was a Republican abolitionist and total abstainer. He took over his father's sailmaking business in 1843 and acquired the cotton duck mill at Woodberry in Baltimore County in 1848. Funds from the streetcar tax paid off the bond issued to purchase the 475-acre Druid Hill Estate. Until then, the seller, Lloyd Nicholas Rogers, had jealously excluded all visitors in his anxiety to preserve the trees. "The name was apparently derived from the estate's opulence of oak trees, which were associated with the ancient religious order . . ." whose rites were conducted in oak groves. Rogers received $1,000 an acre for Druid Hill.[12]

The park, opened in 1860, finally stabilized at a total of 648 acres.[13] Druid Hill Park originally exemplified a large country park. When acquired, it bordered on the edge of the country. As the city built up around it, special features gradually humanized it, among them the zoological garden and the swimming pool. The change from horse-drawn to motor vehicles greatly reduced the sense of seclusion and restfulness as a veritable network of paved roads was cut through, transforming the park's character from country to urban park.[14]

The Olmsted Plan of 1903

In 1899 a city reform government came to power. In the optimistic mood of that year, a group of prominent citizens formed the Municipal Art Society

Druid Hill Park, circa 1880, a site selected by the city park commissioners, opened its 648 acres to the public in 1860. (Prints and Photographs, Maryland Historical Society.)

with Theodore Marburg—scion of wealthy tobacco growers—as its president. The society's mission was to help improve public spaces and to achieve two visionary goals. One was to work on the sewage problem by lobbying the city council and the General Assembly for the implementation of recent findings of the Baltimore Sewerage Commission. To fund the construction of the sewer system, the city sold its stock in the Western Maryland Railroad. The state legislature acted in turn to require the system to treat raw sewage—as distinct from storm water—before discharging it into the Chesapeake Bay or its tributaries.[15]

As its second goal, the Municipal Art Society planned for the development of territory annexed in 1888 north of North Avenue. The society hired the firm of Frederick Law Olmsted, the designer, with Calvert Vaux, of New York's Central Park. The Olmsted firm, known as Olmsted Brothers, already had forty years' experience in park planning. Prospect Park in Brooklyn, New York, succeeded Frederick Law Olmsted's first and most ambitious project, Central Park, and other parks quickly followed in New York State, Boston, and Chicago. Further designs included the grounds of Stanford University in Palo Alto and Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, and the environs of the Capitol in Washington. Olmsted Brothers produced a comprehensive plan for

a series of stream valley parks stretching from the Patapsco to Gunpowder Falls.

"Frederick Law Olmsted's ideal life was a humane, free, and steady existence with time apportioned for quiet leisure as well as hard, engrossing work. This was the way he wished to live," writes Elizabeth Stevenson, Olmsted's biographer. "By designing decent settings for everyday work and play he hoped to enable other people to live in this manner. Then a majority of the population might lead sane lives with an allowance for emotion and imagination as well as for rational and normally selfish activity."[16] Olmsted himself said of this vision that

> Probably the advantages of civilization can be found illustrated and demonstrated under no other circumstances so completely as in some suburban neighborhoods where each family abode stands . . . apart from all others, and at some distance from the public road. . . . I have seen a settlement, the resident population of which was under three hundred, in which there was a public laundry, bath-house, barber's shop, billiard-room, beer-garden and bakery. Fresh rolls and fresh milk were supplied to families before breakfast time every morning."[17]

Olmsted's encounter with the Maryland landscape began in the 1870s. His firm continued to work on Baltimore park planning through 1940, when they endorsed the Crimea estate as the site for land purchased with the Leakin bequest. In 1932, Leakin left property to the city, intending it to be sold and the funds used to purchase park land. Over a period of seventy years the Olmsteds, father and sons, designed sites in Annapolis, Chevy Chase, Baltimore, and over a hundred other locations throughout Maryland. They planned residential developments at Sudbrook Park, Roland Park, Guilford, Dundalk, and Gibson Island. They designed country estates, city squares, church grounds, boulevards, parks and public grounds at Fort McHenry, Green Mount Cemetery, the Johns Hopkins University, Western Maryland College, and St. Mary's Seminary.[18]

In 1903, the year of Frederick Law Olmsted's death, Olmsted Brothers submitted a 120-page plan, second only to Boston's in scope, for a park system for greater Baltimore. The report, illustrated with maps, gave substance to the Municipal Art Society's ambitious vision: to create numerous small parks and playgrounds, expand the larger city parks, develop parkways and stream valley parks in the suburbs, and select and set aside large reservations beyond the metropolitan area for future park use.[19] From experience gained with New York's Central Park, Olmsted had learned to let the terrain suggest the plan, instead of imposing a new structure requiring expensive earth-moving. He believed that such simple plans could only succeed if human imprints on the ter-

rain remained slight, if the trees continued to stand and grading was not much changed. Baltimore's stream valleys met these conditions admirably.

The Olmsted plan retains a compelling beauty, adopting for its outlines the valleys' own contours. By careful inspection of the ground, using the best available contour maps, the Olmsted firm sited the suggested boundaries of the parks just beyond the crest of the valley wall. Any buildings on the park perimeter would be out of view, below the horizon line presented to the park user. The Olmsted Report of 1903 concluded that

> seclusion from the adjacent land is . . . essential because without it the buildings on that land become a part of the landscape and introduce some of that from which escape is sought. The more complete the barrier both as to sight and sound, the more perfectly can the kind of park we are considering fulfill its function, and much money may well be spent in protecting its borders. . . . The possibility of securing a well-protected border for a rural park should be an important factor in selecting its site and determining its boundary, a consideration of design often neglected until improvement begins.[20]

In this scheme, persons within the park, walking near the floor of the stream valley, cannot see the developed land of the plateau beyond the rim of the valley. All the stream valleys inherited from the shaping forces of nature perfectly ideal visual border screens. Even the slightest rise in the ground can act as a screen, if the encroaching city on the opposite side can be kept at a sufficient distance. According to Olmsted's conception, high or flat-roofed structures should not approach the park boundary anywhere around the edge of the valley, though houses might come closer. The park does not begin at a certain line—it appears gradually, with the houses thinning out as one approaches it. In this theory, the park extends out into the surrounding populated area and therefore must be coordinated with city planning. Olmsted believed in comprehensive planning that included schools and other facilities.

Olmsted pioneered the movement away from willfully recreating the environment. He did not favor the formal garden approach to park design that had so dominated French and English planning in the eighteenth century. He saw the possibilities in a landscape as a sculptor might see a sculpture in a slab of unchiseled stone: "It is a common error to regard a park as something to be produced complete in itself, as a picture to be painted on canvas. It should rather be planned as one to be done in fresco, with constant consideration of exterior objects, some of them quite at a distance and even existing yet only in the imagination of the painter."[21] In Olmsted's view, suburbia might seamlessly continue a park, dotting park land with houses. The layout of the streets enforces this design by the parceling out, or subdivision, of the resulting street frontages into lots. Plans such as Olmsted's design for Sudbrook Park, near

Pikesville, control housing density, preserve trees, and flank the subdivision with park land on one side and parkway on the other.

The major features of the Olmsted Plan of 1903 were its reliance on the stream valleys as mainstays of the system and its use of parkways to connect these parks.[22] Of the three cross-town boulevards proposed in 1903, the city acquired two, though not in exactly the locations originally proposed. Gwynns Falls Parkway, connecting Druid Hill Park with Gwynns Falls Park, opened for traffic in 1924. A bridge across the Jones Falls links Druid Hill Park with Wyman Park. Thirty-third Street connects Stony Run with Lake Montebello, Herring Run, and Clifton Park. (Patterson Park received no interconnections.)[23]

By proposing a series of parkways, Olmsted hoped to propagate trees, which he loved and felt worthy of encouraging, not only for their benefits to humanity but also for their own sake. He hated to see trees "deformed by butcherly amputations. If by rare good fortune they are suffered to become beautiful, they still stand subject to be condemned to death at any time, as obstructions to the highway." He went on to ask

> whether we might not with economy make special provision in some of our streets—in a twentieth or a fiftieth part, if you please, of all—for trees to remain as a permanent furniture of the city? I mean, to make a place for them in which they would have room to grow naturally and gracefully. Even if the distance between the houses should have to be made half as much again as it is required to be in our commercial streets, could not the space be afforded? Out of town space is not costly when measures to secure it are taken early. The assessments for benefit where such streets were provided for, would, in nearly all cases, defray the cost of the land required. . . . The change both of scene and of air which would be obtained . . . on passing into a street of this character after the trees had become stately and graceful, would be worth a good deal. [The advantage would be increased] if such streets were made still broader in some parts, with spacious malls . . . and laid out with laterals and connections in suitable directions to serve as a convenient trunk line of communication between two large districts of the town.[24]

Different Parks for Different Needs

A park system plan must not only indicate the boundaries of parks but contain a conception of the major purpose that each will serve. Olmsted identified several categories of park function, and believed these were best met by parks exclusively dedicated to particular purposes. To assure that different park functions do not conflict, any improvement that tends to violate a park's major purpose would be avoided. Improvements on separate sites dedicated to

special purposes would cut costs in the long run. Opportunities for different kinds of recreation would be provided in parks specifically designed and maintained for particular uses. Thus, Olmsted's plan called for differentiated recreation areas called, respectively, reservations, parks, and district playgrounds. The types of park suited to the Baltimore environment were classified in the following way.

1. *The reservation, a holding of country land, perhaps in connection with city forests or water supply, accessible by roads but not developed for intensive recreation.* Such nature preserves were sited in the Patapsco and Gunpowder stream valleys. Olmsted wanted these grounds to be reserved for the park needs of future generations, far beyond the current limits of development, "before the difficulty of . . . building shall be greatly more formidable than now. . . . I by no means wish to suggest that nothing should be done for the present generation; but only that, whatever happens to the present generation, it should not be allowed to go on heaping up difficulties and expenses for its successors, for want of a little comprehensive and business-like foresight and study."[25]

2. *The country park, a landscape devoid of all reminders of civilization, providing needed escape from the sights and sounds of the city and easily reached by bus.* Most city dwellers cannot afford the time to enjoy anything more remote than the country park. In fact, urban growth has quite overburdened Druid Hill, the one really large park. Gwynns Falls Park best exemplifies the country park.

3. *The urban park—or small local park—that presents a tamed appearance and features formal elements such as fences, foliage and flowers.* Such a park typically covers several city blocks. The city already owned a number of these parks in Olmsted's time. His plan recommended thirty-six additional parks, averaging between four and five acres. Clifton Park, Patterson Park, and Carroll Park belong in this category, larger than strictly neighborhood parks, yet not big enough to give a sense of temporary escape. The plan of 1903 recommended doubling the area of Patterson Park by adding thirty city blocks. However, only six blocks were added before development overtook the deliberate pace of land acquisition.

4. *The playfield, or district playground, for adults and young people over twelve.* Olmsted thought regular openings between buildings more important than large parks. Numerous small grounds, so distributed through a large town that one of them could be easily reached by a short walk from every house, would be more desirable than a single area of great extent, however rich in landscape attraction it might be. City planners took Olmsted's recommendation to heart, building dozens of playfields outside of the old downtown area.

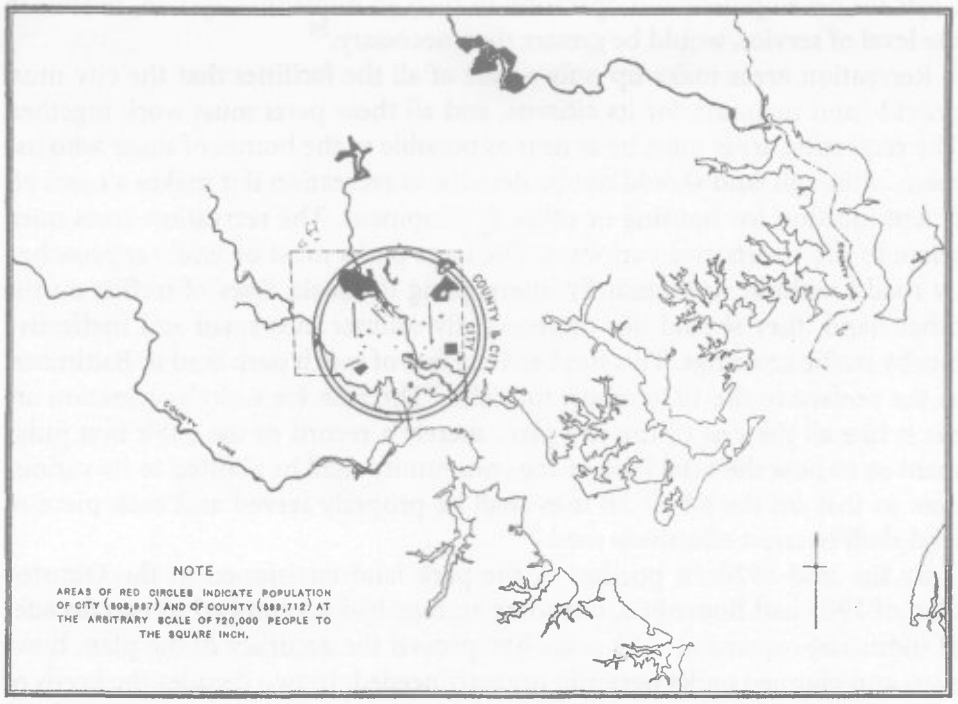
5. *The neighborhood playground for children up to fourteen years of age, designed for densely-populated areas.* Here, as in the larger parks, the Olmsted firm worked with plans suggested by the environment, adjusting their designs to suit each neighborhood's needs. The planners first developed a population-

density map of Baltimore. Then they drew a series of circles, each representing five hundred individuals. No major thoroughfares would divide these parks. At a point in each of the circles they selected a site for one playground or small square. The report of 1903 called for "numerous small tracts [to] be purchased and reserved for squares, playgrounds and neighborhood parks, and for schools and other public buildings in many parts of the city where vacant land is rapidly disappearing." The goal was that playgrounds should be at least as numerous as schools.[26]

6. *Parkways that connect the larger parks and reservations in the stream valleys, especially in the suburban zone, serving their locality as small parks, and often providing the best view over a stream.* In planning the street system for an extensive area annexed in 1918, the City Plan Committee proposed several more stream valley parkways for the outskirts of the city, thus preserving what might otherwise have developed haphazardly.[27]

7. *Special facilities with unusual features such as commanding hilltop views, hills for sledding and skiing, facilities for bathing, swimming, skating, boating, golf courses, athletic fields, and zoological gardens.* Some of these amenities might be found in the larger parks, but greater efficiency could be obtained from suitable areas devoted to these purposes. Most of the small harbor front park known as Middle Branch Park was acquired as proposed by the Olmsted plan. But harbor development plans, which proposed complete commercial and industrial development of the entire frontage of Baltimore harbor, continually threatened its existence. Until 1980 Baltimore devoted more of its waterfront to commerce than any other comparable city. With respect to the four miles of waterfront on the west side of the city, the report of 1903 and a follow-up report in 1924 envisioned setting aside a small percentage for recreation, placed to interfere as little as possible with the efficient economic use of the rest of the waterfront while maximizing the benefits to public recreation. Middle Branch Park seems to fulfill these conditions even today.

Olmsted and his associates believed that Baltimore's park plan should not only be thoroughly coordinated with the city plan, but also with the developing regional plan. Mislocated parks might appear to serve their immediate purpose, but would eventually cause great waste in time, effort, and money. While no part of a city plan should be allowed to become absolutely fixed to the detriment of the other elements, all parts of the plan, such as streets, railroads, and the school system, should be consistently developed one with another. A complete park and recreation plan capable of anticipating future needs must be integrated within a comprehensive city plan, which takes into account transportation, housing, and harbor development, present and future. (The long history of harbor development in Baltimore illustrates the need for comprehensive city planning by a coordinating agency with the power to bring



Olmsted's map of public lands suited for parks included immediate plans for urban areas and a comprehensive preservation program. (From Olmsted Brothers, Report upon the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore *[Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1904].)*

conflicting interests into line for the general welfare.) Once adopted, a plan should never be compromised for any local reason.[28]

Another report by the Olmsted Brothers firm in 1926 recommended additional park extensions and confirmed the 1903 plan to link the Gwynns Falls, Jones Falls, and Herring Run stream valleys. This follow-up report developed further the themes of the 1903 report. It observed that cities tend to take away access to unspoiled outdoor areas and the opportunity they provide for exercise and recreation, necessities of a healthy, happy, and productive life.

The amount of land a park system provides is important, but the value of the land increases if it can be properly distributed in relation to needs and resources. Playfields should be located near young populations most in need of them. Other kinds of parks must spring from local conditions and traditions, in locations selected to take advantage of the natural and manmade resources of the city—its harbor, stream valleys, hills, and parkways.

Without the Olmsted plan, Baltimore would have been reduced to acquiring land where and as it became available, developing the kind of parks that would have been devalued by incompatible uses of the surrounding land.

Costs for development and operation in such an unplanned system, relative to the level of service, would be greater than necessary.[29]

Recreation areas make up only a part of all the facilities that the city must provide and maintain for its citizens, and all these parts must work together. The recreation areas must be as near as possible to the homes of those who use them, although land should not be devoted to recreation if it makes a more efficient location for housing or other development. The recreation areas must relate to the streets and parkways. The large parks must be easily approached by roads, without unnecessarily interrupting the main lines of traffic; on the other hand, they should not unnecessarily splinter into small and ineffective bits by traffic crossings. This has been the fate of much park land in Baltimore, as the preface to the 1926 report foretold: "The plan for a city's recreation areas is like all the rest of the city plan, merely a record of the city's best judgment as to how the total land of the community shall be allotted to its various uses so that on the whole all uses shall be properly served and each piece of land shall be most effectively used."[30]

By the mid-1920s, a portion of the park land envisioned in the Olmsted plan of 1903 had flourished, but some acreage had succumbed to two decades of industrial expansion. The years had proven the accuracy of the plan, however, and planned parks were still urgently needed. In two decades the needs of the populace and the rapid pace of population growth had far outpaced the park land program.[31] With the coming of the Depression, the sources of revenue for new land acquisition were wiped out, and the city was unable to pursue the completion of the Olmsted plan of 1926. Writing in 1929, the new president of the Board of Park Commissioners, George W. Cameron, figured that Baltimore, with its population of 819,000 and 58,835 acres, ought to have 5,565 acres of park land instead of the 3,400 actually owned. The state legislature denied the board the right to finance the carefully prepared park extension plans for making up this deficiency. Cameron observed that "common sense points to the necessity of looking a generation ahead and acquiring open spaces not now actually needed, just as none of the older parks were urgently needed when acquired," since they were then "wholly within, or bordering upon open country." He observed that, "due to neglect of a past generation, children are playing in the street," but concluded that nothing can be done for areas of the city already built up. More than three-quarters of the 3,400 acres in the system were contained in just the nine largest parks.

The 1932 budget for the parks was slashed to 40 percent of its pre-Depression level. In 1938 the Works Projects Administration began helping the city parks department with maintenance, road repairs, and athletic field operations. Despite the lack of resources and manpower during World War II, and losses of acreage by Wyman and Gwynns Falls Parks, in 1943 city parks totalled 4,270 acres, of which five hundred were in playgrounds and playfields,

A shepherd and his flock on the slopes of Druid Hill Park, circa 1905. (Prints and Photographs, Maryland Historical Society.)

and 3,770 in city-wide and stream-valley parks, squares, and medians. That year's plan called for 185 new playgrounds and thirty-three playfields adding a total of over 1,100 acres.[32] By 1950 the system had expanded to 5,772 acres, cared for by 650 permanent employees augmented by summer helpers. This equaled the target figure for acreage cited by Cameron a generation earlier.[33] In 1965 there were 5,865 acres in parks and recreation land, still a deficiency of roughly 2,270 acres.[34]

Parkway or Expressway?

The Olmsted plans of 1903 and 1926 proposed several parkways radiating out from the city that were never built. This left the city without adequate automobile traffic routes into downtown prior to the interstate era. After World War II, a new generation had new priorities for the land once marked out as park. To the highway builders of that era the stream valleys represented the only remaining stretches of undeveloped land available for the interstate highway system to approach the city.[35] In part, the highway planners played upon Olmsted's parkway concept, envisioning expressways as extensive, park-like greenbelts which would provide a relaxing, scenic atmosphere. The degree

to which this ideal can be thwarted can be seen today in the way Interstate 895 and sprawling industry dominate the lower Patapsco valley.

The Olmsted proposal of 1926 called for a parkway leading up the Jones Falls toward its source in Green Spring Valley. As originally designed, Jones Falls Park would advance north of Druid Hill to Lake Roland. The city council seriously considered a proposal for development of Jones Falls Park. The park plan arose out of a seventy-million dollar park master plan commissioned by the city in 1960, which called for the addition of seventeen hundred acres and 193 new facilities by the mid-1980s. Concurrent expressway planning for I-83, called the Jones Falls Expressway, appeared to eliminate any possibility for realizing the stream valley park idea. The business community lined up in favor of the expressway, leaving no alternative for park advocates but to attempt to integrate the expressway and stream valley concepts. A report commissioned by the Board of Recreation and Parks and the Municipal Art Society in 1961 called for an urbanized park of 353 acres, in places amounting to nothing more than an elaborate landscaping plan for the expressway, containing restaurants and many other structures as well as high-rises on the perimeter.[36]

Despite this effort at compromise, in 1964 the city council withdrew its park plans for the Hampden-Woodberry segment of the valley, discarding fifty-three acres. Additional acreage fell from the plan until only a fraction of the proposed area remained, a narrow strip almost too small for any practical park purpose.[37] Only Cylburn Park and Robert E. Lee Park came to fruition in the proposed Jones Falls Park plan. A relative of Robert Garrett, then Park Board president, had willed Robert E. Lee Park to the park system in the 1940s. This park of 449 acres surrounds Lake Roland, the only remaining boat lake.[38] Most of the industrial development stands on the east side of the Jones Falls, but ample green space survives today between the television tower and Cylburn Park (with additional construction now pending) and north of the Baltimore County line.

A tributary of the Jones Falls, Stony Run joins the falls just below Druid Hill Park. On Stony Run, Wyman Park protects the valley as far as University Parkway, where Stony Run Park continues, a narrow city block in width, to the green space behind Friends, Gilman, and Bryn Mawr Schools. The Olmsted report of 1926 proposed this stream valley park, and much of it still remains parkland despite encroachments.

The Reservations

The ridge and valley hinterland to the north and west and estuary and bayshore landscapes to the south and east make diverse types of scenery easily accessible to the people of Baltimore.[39] The 1903 Olmsted plan called for two reservations in the stream valley parks and two others along the banks of tidewater rivers that flow without much fall directly to the bay. South of the

Cylburn Park is only a fragment of the seventeen-hundred-acre Jones Falls Park proposed in the Olmsted Plan. Most of the land fell to development and industry after World War II. (Vertical File, Maryland Historical Society Library.)

Patapsco, Curtis Creek Park was one of the proposed tidewater parks. Instead, the mouth of this creek, Curtis Bay, became a notorious dumping ground for toxic wastes, and a General Services Administration depot was established on its west bank. (The Marley Neck bank still presents a relatively unspoiled shoreline above the United States Coast Guard station at Arundel Cove.) In partial compensation for the loss of Curtis Creek Park, the State of Maryland created Sandy Point State Park on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, near the bay bridge. At 760 acres it provides beaches within an hour's drive from Baltimore.[40]

North of the Patapsco, the Back River was to be parkland from about Witchcoat Point to its headwaters. This project did not develop, though extensive wetlands and tidal flats on the Back River shores were set aside and protected from future development in 1993. Unfortunately, Conrail and Interstate 695 run only a half-mile from the banks of the river.

Two main tributaries of the Back River, Herring Run and Chinquapin Run, have parkland as envisioned by the Olmsted report of 1926. Johns Hopkins acquired Clifton Park, an estate dating back to 1802, in 1836.[41] Hopkins wanted this site, located between Harford and Bel Air Roads, for the university he founded. Instead it came into the city park system in the 1890s. The mostly treeless park has given space to two cemeteries and a junior and a senior high

school. The grounds of Montebello School connect the park with Lake Montebello and to Herring Run beyond. Before the Depression a beginning had been made in acquiring Herring Run Park, with waterworks properties facilitating its extension. As late as 1950, at 513 acres, it had the only natural spring in the system. A fifty-acre tract was sold off to the Baltimore produce terminal, continuing a series of losses.[42] Herring Run Park stretches three miles from Montebello Hospital to the highway interchanges at Interstates 95 and 895. Private owners now hold half the length originally proposed, causing the park to be very narrow between Sinclair Lane and Bel Air Road.

The large outlying forest reservations in the stream valleys matured as state parks. The Olmsted report of 1903 proposed parkland for the entirety of the Patapsco River. Indeed, in the mid-1920s the State Board of Forestry established a forest reserve along sections of the river. The initial area widened until it included a large fraction of the tract recommended in 1903, from Relay to Alberton and beyond. By 1957, Patapsco Valley State Park extended over forty-two hundred acres, offering hiking, camping, and similar forms of recreation in the wilds, while still preserving the forest landscape for future generations. Today it covers approximately two-fifths of the proposed area, in two major enclaves: one just upstream from Elkridge and the other, further up, above Ellicott City. Above Relay the river valley avoided the developer's axe. From Elkridge downstream the Harbor Tunnel Thruway dominates the parts of the stream valley that were acquired for park land—including Reedbird Park, Southwest Area Park, and part of Patapsco Valley State Park.

The other reservation proposed in 1903 thrives as Gunpowder Falls State Park. At the time, the Loch Raven Reservoir on the Big Gunpowder Falls was protected watershed owned by the Baltimore City Water Board. The Big and Little Gunpowder Falls feed into the Gunpowder River along the eastern boundary of Baltimore County. Despite development near I-95, the park branched out over much of the lower valleys of both falls. A study published in 1958 called for a park covering twenty-three thousand acres.[43] Acquisition of small parcels around Sweet Air and Days Cove in the 1980s raised the total acreage of this park to fifteen thousand.

Nature Preserve in the City: The Gwynns Falls Valley

A mixed-mesophytic forest thrives along the hills guarding the Gwynns Falls and Dead Run. Three different forest types live together: the oak-hickory type, the beech-birch type, and river-bottom hardwoods—maple, ash, and box elder. The forest has achieved a steady state of ecological climax, its final vegetative form: a natural community in a stage of ongoing maturity. It delights naturalists because of its great variety of species and their vigor, limblessness, height, and large diameters. Some of the trees first sprouted in the 1730s; others are over a century old. Some places in the park far surpass groves preserved

elsewhere as big tree forests. The red and black oaks are unusually abundant, even growing on the ridges alongside tulip poplars, a strange place for plants needing moist soils. The white oaks one might expect may have been cut down for ship building and cooperage in the late nineteenth century. Wildflowers spring up in abundance: thriving trillium, jack-in-the-pulpit, geranium, cohosh, and a host of others.[44]

Gwynns Falls Park originally stretched from Gwynn Oak Avenue to Washington Boulevard, with breaks at Edmondson Avenue, Baltimore Street, and Frederick Road, encompassing 763 acres. By 1956, the boundaries had been reduced to Purnell Drive in the north and Wilkens Avenue in the south; at 747 acres it remained the largest park in the bureau. The city purchased an area totalling 312 acres adjoining Gwynns Falls Park from descendants of Thomas Winans in two parcels, in 1941 and 1948. This became Leakin Park. A further 850 acres augmented these in the late 1960s. The mouth of Gwynns Falls—the area bounded by Carroll Park, Ostend Street, and the Harbor—hosts a prominent waste treatment plant, gas storage tanks, and other heavy industries. Industry and railroads broke the progress of Gwynns Falls Park upstream; the park suffers many breaks, notably above Baltimore Street.

Along Gwynns Falls between Washington Boulevard and Wilkens Avenue, Carroll Park was extended to the stream (the present golf course), but the low, wooded shore that frames the stream landscape on the west adjacent to the railroad remained in private hands. Allowing this narrow strip to devolve into factories and slums reduced the value of the large piece of park land on the east side of the stream. It has shown some industrial value, but it would have made an excellent extension to the playground on the opposite side of Wilkens Avenue.[45] A current project known as the "Greenway" will acquire four parcels along the stream to complete the park connection and create a hiking trail from Gwynns Falls Park to Middle Branch Park.[46] Storm clouds remain. The city department of public works has just endorsed a plan for a landfill along the stream.

For many years highway planners intended to cut through the center of Gwynns Falls Park and obliterate the meadow at the confluence of Gwynns Falls and Dead Run. The efforts of neighborhood groups in open hearings as early as 1963 ultimately turned back plans for Interstate 70. At hearings on the design of the Leakin Park segment of I-70 held in 1969, residents won a delay pending an ecological study. That study, written by Robert H. Giles of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, made a strong argument for preservation: "Open space is not the leftover land, or the vacant land, the unused land or the waste land. It is of an equal order of consideration with any kind of development."[47]

To facilitate high-speed travel, a highway must take a right of way of at least three hundred feet, or about fifty acres per mile. The land taken usually lies at the lowest and most level contour beside or even astride the river, the central

feature of the park landscape. Highway designers tend to re-sculpt the entire right-of-way, erasing whatever might stand in the way. Giles stressed that, once destroyed, a park can never be replaced.

> It represents values and resources that cannot be found elsewhere. It must be preserved *in situ* or not at all. . . . The forests and parks of Baltimore . . . have no measurable real value for agriculture, livestock, firewood, or forage. Nevertheless they contribute in significant physical ways to the well-being of the citizens of Baltimore. They regulate water supply, reduce floods, recharge ground-water supplies, reduce winds, ameliorate carbon dioxide levels, cool the temperatures . . . reduce erosion and prevent siltation of aquatic organisms. In addition they provide space for recreation and exercise . . . whether a view, a height, a play area, or an escape, these are real physical needs—as real as those of bed, food, and clothing. . . . The land and water resources determine whether people want to live in a city, but more importantly if they can live in health, safety, and decency.[48]

The stream valley parks control the water within the watershed and within the community. Where a forest is cut down, evapotranspiration decreases. Due to the hardening of the ground surface, storm waters run off as much as 50 percent faster. Rainfall under natural conditions percolates into the soil lens and thus contributes to a stable stream flow. Remove the trees, manipulate the habitat, interrupt the ground water tables, and you will surely influence the amount of flow and its quality. The increased floods, siltation of the bay, and pollution caused by this run-off carries a high economic cost to the community.[49]

A statement from the Olmsted report of 1903 provides an apposite conclusion to this article. "When a city grows, . . . streets and blocks multiply automatically, as it were, whether planned in a far-sighted way for the best common interests or left wholly to private initiative; but other open spaces, such as parks, can be secured only by joint action; they are not inevitable products of city growth, and if they are to exist, *every generation during which the city grows must exert itself to add more of them* [emphasis supplied]."[50]

NOTES

1. William B. Marye, "A Commentary on Certain Words and Expressions Used in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 46 (1951): 126.

2. B. A. Goldman, *The Truth About Where You Live: An Atlas for Action on Toxins and Mortality* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1991), 41, 91, 107, 121.

3. Bob Hall & Mary Lee Kerr, *The 1991–1992 Green Index: A State by State Guide to the Nation's Environmental Health* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1991), 89.
4. Goldman, *The Truth About Where You Live*, 178, 181, 275.
5. Eighty-eight percent of the population breathes air with too much carbon monoxide, air that also violates ozone standards. Hall & Kerr, *Green Index*, 22.
6. Ibid., 110.
7. *Baltimore Sun*, November 7, 1993. The impaired streams included Dead Run, Herbert Run, and Bird River. The lower portions of all the streams were "moderately" degraded, as were some creeks draining into Loch Raven Reservoir. Dead Run suffered from low levels of dissolved oxygen, high concentrations of organic pollutants, variable water temperatures, and excessive metals and nutrient levels. See also Friends of Gwynns Falls/Leakin Park, *Water Quality Study* (Baltimore: Friends of Gwynns Falls/Leakin Park, 1990).
8. Woodlawn History Committee, *Woodlawn, Franklintown & Hebbville* (Baltimore: Woodlawn Recreation and Parks Council, 1977), 1.
9. "William B. Marye, "The Old Indian Road, Part II," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 15 (1920): 210.
10. T. C. J. Whedbee, *The Port of Baltimore in the Making, 1828–1878* (Baltimore: F. Bowie Smith & Son [privately printed], 1953), 39–44.
11. Lewis Delano, "A Great Moral and Sanitary Agency: Baltimore's Druid Hill Park in 1860," American Studies Dept., University of Maryland, Baltimore County.
12. Ibid.
13. The park had at one time 664 acres. Simonds and Simonds, *Landscape Architects & Planners, Parks and Recreation Study, Objectives Standards Deficiencies* (Pittsburgh: Simonds and Simonds, 1965), A-13.
14. Arthur C. Comey, "The Present Status of Baltimore's Park System, June 2, 1924." Report commissioned by Baltimore City, Baltimore Environmental Center.
15. Theodore C. Schaetzle, *Nine Years' Operation of the Baltimore Sewage Works* (Baltimore: Baltimore Highways Dept., 1921).
16. Elizabeth Stevenson, *Park Maker: A Life of Frederick Law Olmsted* (New York: Macmillan, 1977), 309.
17. Frederick Law Olmsted, *Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns* (1870; repr. New York: Arno Press, 1970), 9.
18. Friends of Maryland's Olmsted Parks & Landscapes, *The Olmstedian* (1988), no. 1.
19. Comey, "The Present Status of Baltimore's Park System."
20. Olmsted Brothers, *Report upon the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore (1903; repr. Baltimore: Friends of Maryland's Olmsted Parks and Landscapes, 1987), 36–37.*
21. Olmsted, *Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns* , 25.
22. Ira L. Whitman, "Uses of Small Urban River Valleys" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1968).
23. Comey, "The Present Status of Baltimore's Park System."
24. Olmsted, *Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns*, 16.
25. Ibid., 25.
26. As of 1965 there were forty-eight playlots (each averaging 0.31 acres in size), 136 play-

grounds (1 acre each), 84 playground/playfields (6.42 each) and 53 playfields (9.5 each). Simonds & Simonds, *Landscape Architects & Planners,* Appendix A.

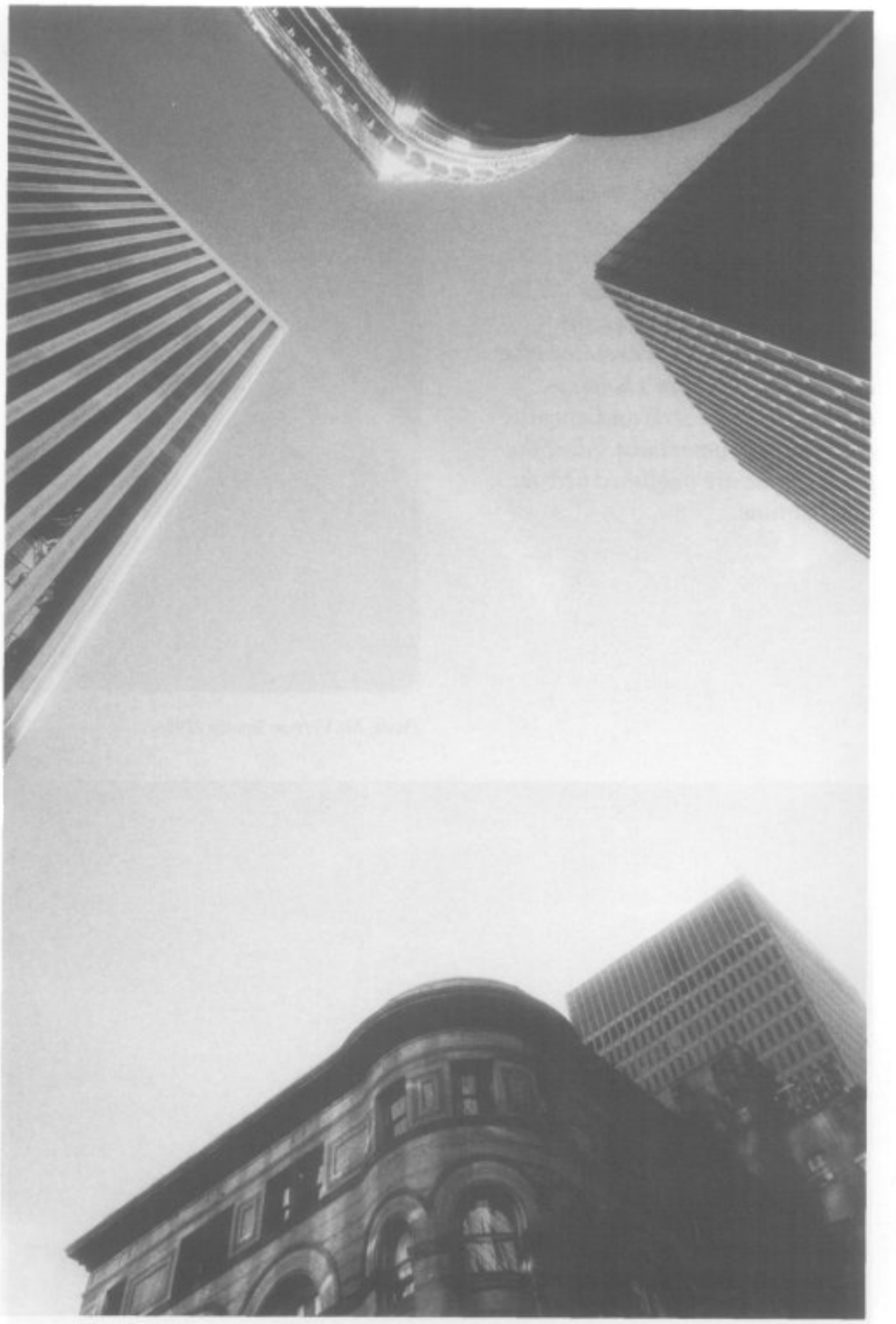
27. Comey, "The Present Status of Baltimore's Park System."
28. Ibid.
29. Simonds and Simonds, *Landscape Architects & Planners,* 14.
30. Olmsted Brothers Report (1926), preface.
31. Comey, "The Present Status of Baltimore's Park System."
32. Simonds and Simonds, *Landscape Architects & Planners,* 33.
33. The earlier target was 5,565. The park system had grown by 2,372 acres including Leakin Park (312 acres), Graham Park (120 acres) and Robert E. Lee Park (450 acres).
34. Simonds and Simonds, *Landscape Architects & Planners,* 4, 33.
35. See Jim Duffy, "Best Laid Plans: Three Visions for Baltimore City that Never Came to Pass," *Baltimore City Paper,* November 26, 1993.
36. *Plan for the Conservation and Development of Jones Falls Valley* (Baltimore: Greater Baltimore Committee, Planning Council, 1961), 25.
37. Whitman, "Uses of Small Urban River Valleys."
38. Like Pine Ridge Golf Course and Graham Park, it is actually in Baltimore County. One city park, Fort Smallwood (acquired from the federal government), is in Anne Arundel County.
39. Comey, "The Present Status of Baltimore's Park System."
40. Allen Organization, *Study for a Proposed Gunpowder River Valley Park System* (Baltimore: Maryland State Planning Commission, 1958), 1.
41. Hopkins was another figure involved with the early beginnings of the B&O Railroad.
42. By 1965 it was reduced to 335 acres. Simonds & Simonds, *Landscape Architects & Planers,* A-3.
43. Land to be acquired, 11,610 acres; Existing Reservoir Land (Loch Raven and Prettyboy) 11,400 acres. Allan Organization, *Study for a Proposed Gunpowder River Valley Park System,* 23.
44. Robert H. Giles, "Environmental Impact Statement," Baltimore Environmental Center, 1969.
45. Comey, "The Present Status of Baltimore's Park System."
46. Project Open Space contributed $440,000 to purchase the land. Interview with Lisa Hite, planner, Baltimore City Department of Recreation & Parks, July 1993.
47. Giles, "Environmental Impact Statement."
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Olmsted Brothers, *Development of Public Grounds,* 11.

Portfolio

Jeff Goldman is staff photographer for the Maryland Historical Society and photographer for this magazine. His work has appeared in books published by the society and frequently in our pages during his more than eleven years on staff. This gallery of his photographs, the majority of which were created after hours, as on busman's holidays, demonstrates his style and range as artist and documentalist. All of the photographs are published here for the first time.

Peace, Mt.Vernon Square (1988)

Baltimore County (1985)

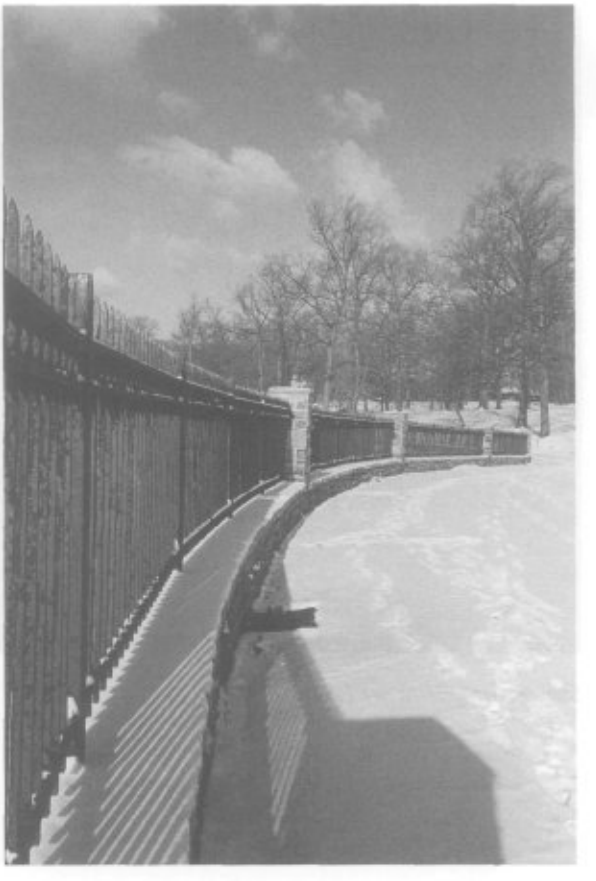


Charles Street (1991)

Snowy Night, Baltimore (1983)

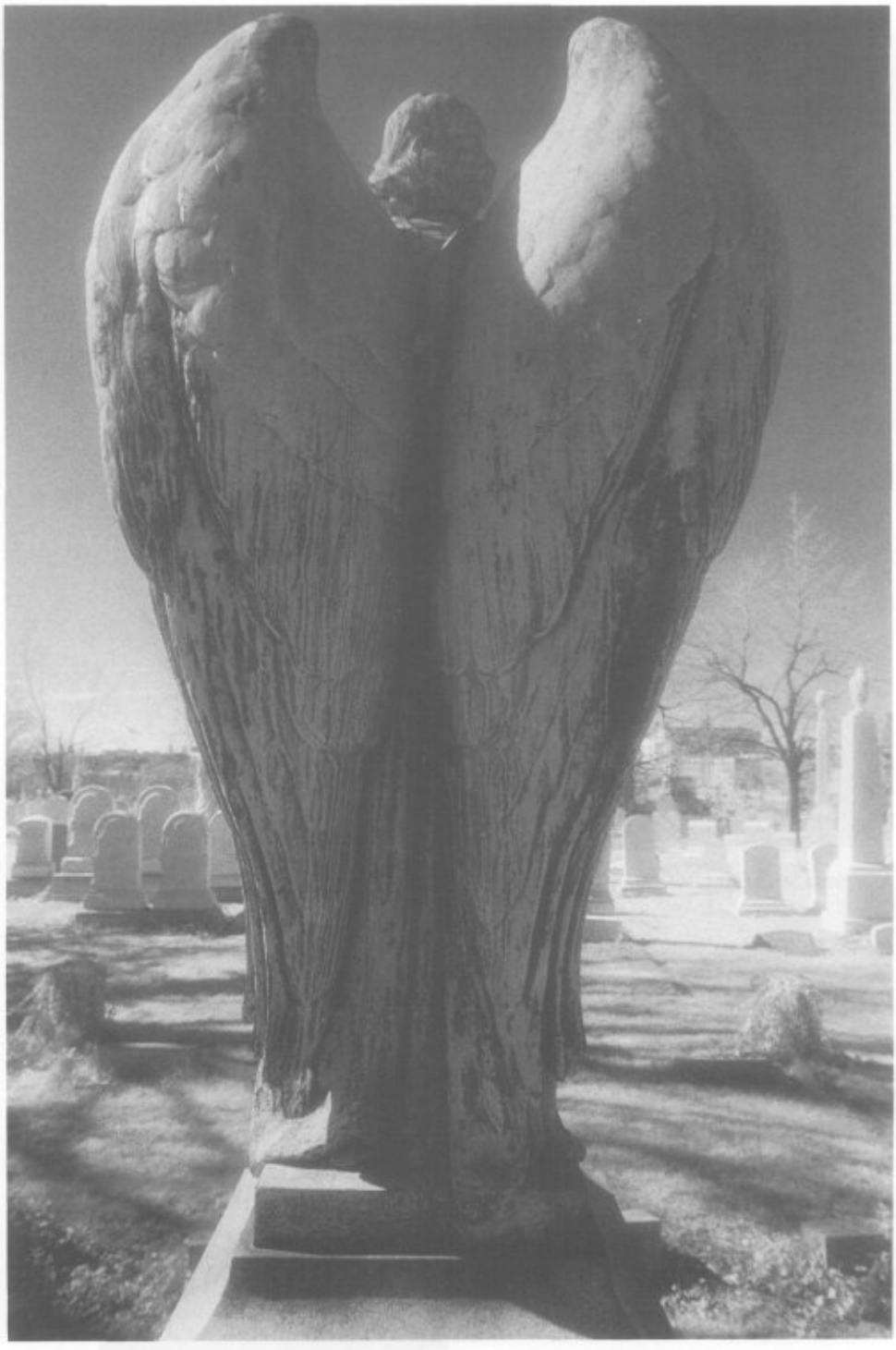
Frederick Houses (1994)

Diana of the Hunt, by Anna Hunington, Washington County Museum of Fine Arts (1994)



Druid Hill Reservoir (1991)

1922 Ahrens Fox No. 7 from the Fire Museum of Maryland (1992)

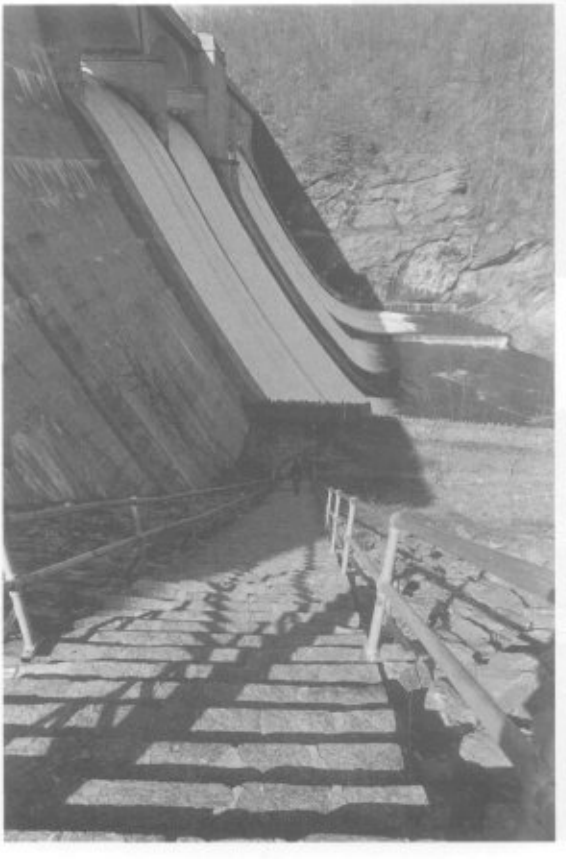


Gabriel, Green Mount Cemetery (1989)

Maryland State Fair (1990)

Ellicott City Street (1992)

USF Constellation (1992)



Prettyboy Reservoir (1984)

Conservatory, Druid Hill Park (1988)

Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, St. Michael's (1994)

Personal Reminiscence

John Charles Thomas, President Coolidge, and I

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

The *Baltimore Sun* for March 16, 1939, reported that "John Charles Thomas, Baltimore baritone, returned here last night to make a triumphant local operatic debut before an audience of 3,800 which jammed the Lyric to hear a performance of Jules Massenet's *Thais*." Thus ended the Metropolitan Opera's annual season in Baltimore.

Except for Rosa Ponselle, John Charles Thomas was Maryland's best-known figure in the world of opera. Thomas, whose rich "cello-toned" voice garnered extravagant praise from critics world-wide, received his major training at the Peabody Conservatory. Although born in Meyersdale, Pennsylvania, on September 6, 1891, he always considered Maryland his adopted home. In his boyhood he and his parents sang at camp meetings where his father, the Reverend Milson Thomas, a circuit-riding Methodist minister, preached. His mother, Anna Dorothea S. Thomas, was an accomplished singer who led the choir in her husband's church. Although John Charles Thomas's early schooling, acquired at the various towns where his father stopped, was sporadic, he graduated from Dickinson College.[1]

After his family moved to Baltimore where his father had accepted a pulpit, John Charles lived with his parents at 1711 E. Chase Street. He enrolled as a medical student at the now extinct Mount Street College of Homeopathy, but his interest in music persisted. After studying medicine for only a few weeks he competed for the Eaton Memorial Scholarship at the Peabody. He placed second, but decided to try again. Thomas finally won the coveted scholarship in 1910 when he was about eighteen. Forced to make a decision between music and medicine, he flipped a coin and music won. Thus he began two years of intensive training at the Peabody under Adelin Fermin. During this time he frequently sang at Park Avenue's Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church and the Associate Congregational Church on Maryland Avenue.[2]

Although the Peabody scholarship was for three years, Thomas gave it up at the end of the 1912 spring term to try his luck in the theater. In New York he

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won a part in a production of *Everywoman* in which he and actress Ruby Rauthnaur became attracted to each other. In October 1913 they were married in his father's Baltimore church. The pair then moved to New York. The marriage ended in divorce after Mrs. Thomas testified that her husband had dropped her pet cat from a fifth-story window.[3]

Meanwhile John Charles Thomas was achieving success in the theater. When he stepped onto the Broadway stage for the premiere of Rudolf Friml's *The Peasant Girl,* the then unknown singer stole the show. He sang in *The Passing Show* at the Winter Garden and in Gilbert & Sullivan operettas with De Wolf Hopper. According to one publication, the magnetism of the handsome blond singer with his athletic physique was so overpowering that "leading ladies slipped up on their cues and muffed lines."[4]

Thomas stayed in musical comedy until he had accumulated enough funds to stop being a matinee idol and concentrate on concert singing.[5] His operatic debut came on March 3, 1925, when he sang the role of Amonasro in Verdi's *Aida* before a Washington, D.C., audience that included President and Mrs. Coolidge—and me, age twelve.[6]

Shortly before this gala event, I came home from school one day and laid my books on the pier table in the hall. Suddenly the heavy purple portieres which separated the hall from the parlor were thrust apart. Out rushed a strange figure in a long robe, waist-length hair and beard, and carrying a large wooden staff. This apparition sang at me in Italian: "The sacred limits of Egyptian soil are by the Ethiops invaded." When I recovered from the initial shock I discovered that beneath the flowing caftan, wig, and false beard was my father, Lawrence R. Lee, a non-professional singer with a trained tenor voice. He had been tapped to sing the role of the messenger in the Washington Opera Company's production of *Aida.*

The evening of Tuesday, March 3, arrived, a big event for me since I was grudgingly allowed to forego homework on a school night to attend my first opera. Dressed in my best, I filed into the Washington Auditorium and took my seat near the presidential box. The curtain went up, and the audience was transported to the great hall of the palace of the Egyptian king at Memphis. Just about the time that my father was scheduled to rush in with the announcement that Amonasro—John Charles Thomas—was leading the Ethiopian hosts against Egypt, I noticed a slight movement in the curtain of the president's box. Looking around, I saw Calvin Coolidge slip quietly into a chair. He stared straight ahead throughout the entire performance, never moving a muscle of his face.

Despite my preoccupation with the president's expressionless face, I was properly impressed by the mellow baritone of Amonasro and by his striking stage presence. Unfortunately the spectacle's illusion was broken for me when Aida, sung by Madame Frances Peralta of the Metropolitan, who was suppos-

edly entombed in a vault with her lover Radames, kept thrusting out her arms as she sang. The inside of the vault was lit by a dark green spotlight, while the world outside was a glowing red. A realist of twelve, I felt that I was being asked to stretch my imagination too far when the heroine, sealed forever in an underground vault, had arms half red and half green.

Following his operatic debut, John Charles Thomas sailed for Europe with his second wife, the former Dorothy Kaehler. In Brussels, Thomas auditioned for the Theatre de la Monnaie and was hired. His debut in Massenet's *Herodiade* was so successful that his contract was extended for three more seasons. He played fifteen major roles at Brussels, including the lead in the world premiere of Milhaud's *Les Malheurs d'Orphee.* One of the singer's favorite mementos was a portrait of him in the role of Tonio in *Pagliacci.* The painting represented him as the white-clad clown singing the prologue against a huge curtain of bright burgundy.

Thomas's triumphal appearances at la Monnaie led to invitations to sing at the opera houses of Berlin and Vienna and at London's Covent Garden. When his Brussels contract expired he returned home and resumed his concert work. In 1928 he took a fling at the movies, then returned to opera, singing the title role of *Rigoletto* in March 1929 with the Philadelphia Grand Opera Company. He sang with the San Francisco Opera, and in November 1930 made his debut with the Chicago Civic Opera in *Pagliacci.*

A prized jewel in the crown of opera singers was attained when he made his Metropolitan Opera debut in *La Traviata* on February 2, 1934. "Mr. Thomas," wrote the *New York Herald Tribune* critic, "has matched his achievements on the concert stage with the same opulence of volume, polish in quality, and musicianship in phrasing." During the next eleven years he contracted with the Metropolitan for regular seasonal engagements.[7]

Thomas had two passions—music and boats. Noted for his speedboat racing, for which he won medals, he bought in 1937 a 106-foot houseboat, the *Masquerader,* which he outfitted at a Dundalk shipyard. In this vessel he and his wife roamed in summer up and down the Eastern Shore of Maryland.[8] Other sports interested Thomas. He had played tennis with Big Bill Tilden and golfed with Bobby Jones. From time to time he could be seen on Baltimore's Hillendale course.[9]

Many of Thomas's concerts were given for such good causes as Baltimore's Community Chest or the hospital at Easton, Maryland. He appeared on various radio programs such as the "Pause That Refreshes" with André Kostelanetz as conductor. The Federal Radio Commission, after a battle with Thomas, finally granted him a special dispensation that allowed him to end each broadcast with the words, "Good Night, Mother." His widowed mother then lived at 74 Cedar Avenue, Towson, in a house filled with mementos of her famous son.[10]

When not on tour Thomas played the real-life part of the Squire of Ingleton-on-the-Miles, his 270-acre farm near St. Michael's in Talbot County. There he farmed, sailed, and caught lobsters in his pots. It has been said that when he spent convivial evenings at the local tavern his singing could shatter glasses. On November 10, 1950, Thomas gave the Peabody's 1177th concert.[11]

In 1954, Thomas retired from his long, active career. He and his wife settled in Apple Valley, California, northeast of Los Angeles. He died there on December 13, 1960, at age sixty-eight.[12]

In September 1991 the Peabody Conservatory mounted two exhibitions on Thomas's life and career, marking the centenary of his birth. The exhibits, "John Charles Thomas: An American Classic," ran simultaneously at Peabody's Galleria Piccole and the Historical Society of Talbot County in Easton before traveling to the San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum.[13]

Thomas's bold autograph in my father's score of *Aida* reminds me of his operatic debut nearly seventy years ago.

NOTES

1. Maxine Block, ed. *Current Biography* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1943), 758; *Baltimore News-Post*, December 5, 1955; *Baltimore Sun* December 14, 1960.
2. *Baltimore Sun*, December 14, 1960.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.; *Current Biography*, 1943, 759.
5. Ibid.
6. Several accounts give the date erroneously as March 3, 1924. My program from that evening is dated 1925.
7. *Current Biography*, 1943, 759.
8. *Baltimore Sun*, November 3, 1937.
9. *Baltimore Evening Sun*, November 9, 1950; *Current Biography*, 1943, 760.
10. *Current Biography*, 1943, 760; *Baltimore News American*, August 8, 1973.
11. *Baltimore Evening Sun*, November 9, 1950.
12. *Baltimore Sun*, December 14, 1960.
13. *Baltimore Sun*, September 1, 1991.

Book Reviews

The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas. By Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994. 548 pages. Notes, illustrations, index. $30.)

John Whitall watched his five-year-old granddaughter Martha Carey ("Minnie") Thomas, "Little Sturdy," and marveled at her "whole souled enjoyment of everything." Sixty years later, at the end of her life as educational reformer, women's rights advocate, cultural and intellectual leader, M. Carey Thomas (1857-1935) still conveyed "a sense of buoyant, almost Rooseveltian energy and power . . . a gay, ruthless vitality" (443).

Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz' superb biography presents the entire span of this full existence. Her title, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas,* aptly distills the dominant forces of this important American figure. By her choice of phrase Horowitz, professor of American Studies and History at Smith College, firmly announces her intention to chronicle how the public work and the private life taken together form M. Carey Thomas's construction of herself, a construction in which multiple and conflicting personae remained in creative tension for seventy-eight years.

We open any biography hoping the author equal to the implicit challenge of the genre: to lead us to see the subject as an outcropping of broad historic and social forces, all the while delineating those singular elements which constitute the story of one individual. *The Power and the Passion of M. Carey Thomas* provides an explicit and successful response to this challenge, an accomplishment all the more commendable as Thomas behaved far from admirably at many a turn. Her anti-Semitism and racism reached levels of virulence that set her apart even if one allows for the prejudices of an earlier era. As Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz puts it, "Ultimately, she built better than she lived" (xvii). Professor Horowitz displays scrupulous precision as she reveals the "imperious fierceness" M. Carey Thomas brandished in both public and private settings. But this same equitable precision enables Horowitz to let us see for ourselves why, when Thomas ended her career at Bryn Mawr in 1922 the celebratory address would affirm that she "has given innumerable women the faith they most needed—faith in their own possible effectiveness" and concluded by declaring her "the most colorful, the most vigorous, the most dynamic figure in American education today" (438).

Born into a prominent Baltimore Quaker family, M. Carey Thomas displayed her "ruthless vitality" as undergraduate student at Cornell University, isolated auditor at the Johns Hopkins University, and graduate student at the University of Leipzig and at the University of Zurich where in 1883 her brilliant achievement as the first woman awarded a doctorate *summa cum laude*

ensured her future impact on American education. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, author of *Culture and the City* (1976), *Campus Life* (1987), and *Alma Mater* (1984), an excellent study of women's higher education, here extends her treatment of Bryn Mawr College to explain how M. Carey Thomas, founding dean (1885) and then president (1894–1922) built an outstanding institution as her "purest act: cognition turned into will" (197). This biography fulfills Horowitz's goal of demonstrating how M. Carey Thomas's imposition of her ideals at Bryn Mawr College provided the base from which she could advance her own precepts and those of like-minded friends and associates.

Thomas's role in establishing the Medical School of the Johns Hopkins University was pivotal. Fundamental as that role was, Horowitz' account of this milestone in Maryland history is made all the more pertinent because both the medical school and Baltimore's Bryn Mawr School for girls came into being through the collaborative endeavors of four additional Maryland women. In 1893 the Johns Hopkins University's hospital was operating confidently. Everything was in place for the founding of its medical school—except the money. M. Carey Thomas, Julia Rogers, Bessie King, Mamie Gwinn, and Mary Garrett formed the Women's Medical School Fund and pledged to raise the necessary sum if women as well as men would be admitted. A national campaign was mounted which soon triumphantly presented the Hopkins trustees with the needed amount, over $1.5 in current figures. This was a dramatic exploit considering the bitter opposition to women's presence in a medical school not only from within the university and medical community itself but from a significant segment of the public and press as well. Here and elsewhere in her biography, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz is particularly adroit at depicting how the long and intense private devotion of Garrett and Thomas sought out worthy public victories. Marylanders still benefit from the realization of the shared "power and passion" of these two women. Moreover, Horowitz is careful to show that Garrett supplied much more than financial backing alone: "It goes against expectations to think of a wealthy heiress, raised to fashion, goading a Quaker daughter and college executive into sympathy for women's suffrage, but over the course of decades this is what did happen. . . . By the early twentieth century, Mary Garrett publicly joined the suffrage cause, and took Carey Thomas with her" (390).

For years Thomas had considered that "American women's rights seemed wanting in manners and taste" and that the American temperance and suffrage movements "lacked class" (391). Moving beyond her repugnance for the vulgarity of public agitation, Thomas joined Garrett in the efforts of the National American Women Suffrage Association and the National College Equal Suffrage League.

The fervent aestheticism Thomas shared primarily with Mamie Gwinn, her companion abroad and at home from 1879 until 1904, is likewise documented

for us as Horowitz recounts what Thomas called her "book-besotted youth" and her lifelong enthusiasm for the cultural riches of Europe. *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* notes throughout Thomas's wide interests and varied influences: Alma-Tadema, Matthew Arnold, Theophile Gautier, Wagner, Algernon Swinburne, Henrick Ibsen, and many others, all savored against the background of European and world travel. Acclaimed figures from American politics, education, philosophy, and literature who marked Thomas's life and thought are also frequently present.

In 1899 when the trustees of Bryn Mawr College decided to honor Thomas with an official portrait, she gave the commission to John Singer Sargent. He rose to the occasion, creating what he considered a Bronzino-like presence suggesting the sixteenth-century Italian's "principal subjects, the ruling Medici family . . . powerful yet remote" (316). I Tatti, Bernard Berenson's villa in Florence, where her first cousin lived with the distinguished art connoisseur, served Thomas as the model for the Deanery, her expanded home and headquarters at Bryn Mawr. Gertrude Stein's *Fernhurst* is an irreverent, deft fictional transposition of the M. Carey Thomas-Mamie Gwinn-Alfred Hodder scandal.

It is, however, for M. Carey Thomas's contribution to American history as a champion of women's rights that Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz reserves her fullest assessment: "In suffrage, as in so much else, she was a bridge between generations . . . a harbinger of elements of late twentieth-century feminism . . ." (402). She belonged to the era of the suffragists. With many in her generation she shared elitism, an embrace of racial and social exclusions, moral energy, and attachment to solving social ills by prohibition and good government. Where Carey Thomas differed was in her ability to ask new questions and raise new issues. She considered the complicated interactions between social conditions and creativity, the myriad ways in which women's interests differed from those of men, the question of sexual power, the use of the vote by women to protect their interests as a class, and the knotty problem posed by the negotiations of marriage and career" (405).

In 1935, at the memorial service for Thomas, an American president's daughter, Helen Taft Manning, warned that the "misguided piety of biographers" uncomfortable with those qualities not in accordance with "the conventional ethics of the day" might submerge or even falsify M. Carey Thomas's authentic merit as a historical figure. Were that to occur, Manning said, "then we shall have failed through willful blindness to truth and shall be guilty of a criminal waste of rich and abundant material." Horowitz' *The Power and the Passion of M. Carey Thomas* gives us an excellent interpretation of that material.

MARGARET FLOWERS SOBEL
Baltimore

Altogether American: Robert Mills, Architect and Engineer 1781–1855. By Rhodri Windsor Liscombe. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. 384 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $45.)

Robert Mills was an outstanding American architect. His practice stretched from Maine to Alabama, and his large governmental structures in Washington established the style of Federal buildings for the next hundred years. During his career of more than half a century, his fertile mind poured forth numerous projects, going beyond buildings to waterworks, roads, canals, and railroads, heating systems and fireproof construction, mapmaking, several books, and more. Professor Liscombe's study succeeds the old standard work by H. M. Pierce Gallagher, *Robert Mills, Architect of the Washington Monument, 1781–1855* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935). It follows a similar pattern, but is far more complete in its presentation of Mills's life intermingled with discussions of his works and significant local and national events.

In seven chapters *Altogether American* deals with Mills's early life and training, the years in Philadelphia, in Baltimore, in South Carolina during the 1820s, two on the Washington years for the periods 1830–1842 and 1842–1855, and ending with a three-page "Retrospect" that characterizes both Mills and his accomplishment. A continuing theme is Mills's incessant search for employment and income during this time when the profession of architecture was poorly recognized. Another, evident in the title, is the interpretation of Mills's works as expressions of his Americanism in their form and symbolism. Mills's style of American classicism forms a third theme. Briefly, it began early in the southern Palladianism of his native South Carolina and was reinforced in 1801–1803 by his work with James Hoban and especially through Thomas Jefferson's interest in the buildings and writings of the sixteenth-century Andrea Palladio.

The modern rationalist classicism acquired from Benjamin Henry Latrobe, beginning in 1803, began to wane by 1820. Thereafter, aside from occasional forays into medievalism, Mills synthesized a predominantly Palladian approach with elements of the Latrobean manner and of ancient architecture that he had come to appreciate through Jefferson and Latrobe. The Renaissance revival treatment of the General Post Office in Washington, as the author observes, upon its completion in 1842 coincided with the diminishing interest in the Greek.

Prominent in the chapter "Baltimore, 1814–1820," the Washington Monument, First Baptist Church, and Waterloo Row are major works of Mills's early maturity as an architect. The Monument, still towering over Mt. Vernon Square, was among the first works of the Greek revival in this country. His record of the stages of construction of the church, in correspondence and his 1816 pocket memorandum book, gives us a rare picture of structural practices

of the time. The Row, designed two weeks after he laid out Calvert Street north of Monument Square, was his major activity as president of the Baltimore Water Company. The author regrettably passed up the opportunity to analyze and characterize Mills's approach to urbanistic design in the square around the Monument and in the Row as a street ornament. The author does consider other works by Mills in Maryland, of which two remain standing: the Potts house in Frederick, its character still dominant over later alterations, and Robert Oliver's Harewood (not a "mill" [89]) on the Gunpowder River, the object of preservation activities today.

Readers of this magazine will find questionable and erroneous statements. Latrobe's plans for the cathedral were presented not to "Bishop Daniel Carroll" (23), but to Bishop John Carroll. John H. B. Latrobe wrote *A Picture of Baltimore* (Baltimore: F. Lucas, Jr., 1832), not Fielding Lucas, Jr. (75), who published it. Maryland's Governor Charles Ridgely, newly elected in 1815, was not known as "General Carnac Ridgley" (68). The Baptist Church at the corner of Lombard and Sharp streets was west, not east (74), of the harbor. No reason is offered for describing Liberty Street as "quite close to" St. Paul's Lane (86) and Sharp as "not far from" South (not "East") Gay and East (not "South") Lombard streets (181); certainly those terms obscure the differences in the neighborhoods involved.

The writing flows well and facilitates reading and comprehension. Adjectives, adverbs, and fictional devices abound, and while they dramatize situations, they express opinions that warrant examination. Maximilian Godefroy and Robert Cary Long, Sr., for example, may well have been "jealous" (67) of Mills's success in the competition for the Washington Monument, but the evidence presented is subject to further interpretation. Godefroy's attempt to gain the commission after Mills won the award was a gambit used by men anxious to gain employment, one Mills himself employed and one from which he also suffered in later years. A contractor consulted Long on digging the foundations, as the author writes, drawing on John Mowton's letter of May 30, 1815. Mowton probably was, like his older brother, James, a protégé of Long, and he clearly was trusted to run the works during the absence of Mills, who continued to employ him as late as 1819. The point of his comment in the letter, one of his weekly reports, was that the contractor was digging for foundations *only* forty feet wide despite Long's advice. He noted also that Long had not yet sent men to raise a fence around the work area. The word "jealous" conceals these relationships as well as the conclusion that Mills himself had consulted Long on hiring workmen.

The author has read a very large number of manuscripts, located mainly in the area from Philadelphia to South Carolina, and usually with reliable results. His occasional errors arise from misreading the difficult handwriting, misinterpreting a passage, and insufficient knowledge of the usage and context of

the times. In one sentence on the construction of the Baptist Church, for example, he reports that the sculptor "Chevalier" bid "25 cents" each to do the Ionic capitals, but that Mills gave a drawing for them to a "Mr. Mountain" (75). The first name, actually written "Chavelier" in Mills's casual orthography, surely refers to Augustin Chevalier, a sculptor in stone active in Baltimore up to 1808 and again after 1824; pending new information, he should be credited with carving the marble capitals of the church. The sum should be read as *$25* each, for Mills occasionally, as here, wrote the relatively new dollar sign after the sum and on its side. The drawing given to the carpenter Mowton was for the wood capitals of the William Gwynn house. Another example: Mills's acquisition of Baltimore City stocks in 1818 was in payment for his work following the flood of 1817 and thus he did not purchase them; he endorsed them for cash and did not lose a hypothetical "investment" (81).

Despite these and other questionable statements Professor Liscombe is to be congratulated on bringing together materials that have been uncovered in recent decades, an activity in which he has participated. He has provided a vast amount of information on Mills as a professional, and a high percentage of Mills's works and projects are at least mentioned. Although much of the architecture is necessarily treated in a summary manner, the author describes buildings clearly, often pointing out an American or other relevant symbolism. He has an interesting manner of describing plans functionally, integrating details of rooms, halls, and staircases with the allocation of the parts for varied activities. Used with caution *Altogether American* can satisfy most readers seeking an overview of the life and works of this important architect.

ROBERT L. ALEXANDER
University of Iowa

The Pacas of Maryland and Their "Relatives." By Edmund J. C[armichael] Paca. (n. p., n. d. Illus., indexed. $22.00.)

That William Paca, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, fathered a natural daughter named Levina has long been known to students of the Paca family. What is brought to light in this well researched family history is that he had another natural daughter, named Henrietta Maria, born in 1776. Paca named a daughter H. M. Addison in his will, but his two known daughters named Henrietta Maria both died young. In 1799 Sarah Joice of Annapolis made her will naming her daughter Henrietta Maria Addison, wife of Thomas Grafton Addison. Sarah's will was written by William Paca who signed it as one of the witnesses.

The author examines the origin of the name "Paca," and states that the name may have originally been "Peake," "Peke," or "Paca." Given the state of seventeenth-century handwriting and spelling, such a derivation is entirely

possible. However, others theorize that the name may have originally been Italian in origin. While no clear-cut conclusions have been reached, Mr. Paca presents the various theories clearly and concisely.

This is not just a genealogy containing a mere recitation of dates and begats. It is truly a family history. The family is placed in its geographical and social setting with the author's opening chapter "Chesapeakia," and the chapters on collateral families. The historical setting is constructed throughout the book, with concentration on the activities of William the Signer, and with a chapter on the Pacas and their kin in the Civil War.

To be sure, there are pedigree charts showing the descendants of various early families; the Pacas, Parkers, Halls, Wells, Pearces, Hammonds, Tootells, Lloyds, Bennetts, Tilghmans, Addisons and Chews, and other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century families are set forth in the traditional form. The book is enhanced by a number of illustrations—paintings, photographs, maps and drawings—which depict the people, houses, and documents discussed in the text.

The family history is dedicated to Mrs. Anne St. Clair Wright, and to the author's father. The closing chapters tell why and also contain a fascinating sketch of Linda Lee, once called "The Most Beautiful Woman in America," who married composer Cole Porter.

Documentation takes the form of "References and Explanations" for each chapter, with the sources listed indicated by a number following the relevant paragraphs. If the style of the citations does not follow the standard format for footnotes, enough information is given so that the interested researcher can track down the original source. The book closes with an index.

The book is fascinating to read, arranged to capture the interest of more than Paca descendants and family researchers, and is well documented. If it does not follow the format of the usual family history, it more than makes up for this lack by its interesting prose style and the author's efforts to place the family in the historical context of the seventeenth through the twentieth century.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall

Maryland's Vanishing Lives. By John Sherwood. Photographs by Edwin H. Remsberg. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994) 232 pages. $29.95.)

Two newspapers that John Sherwood had worked for had ceased publication and another seemed to be failing when he left newspapering in late 1990. Wondering if his own way of life might be vanishing, he began seeking out the vanishing work of others.

Traveling throughout Maryland his "quest uncovered working examples of old-fashioned ways of life, in old-fashioned settings, sometimes surrounded and under siege in modern settings" (x).

The result is a remarkable collection of sixty-six short profiles—most less than two pages in length—that capture not only vanishing occupations and their indomitable survivors but societal changes as well. They range from a gas station in Appalachia that has not changed much since the days of Coolidge (the owner still pumps the gas himself and will check the oil and wipe the windshield) to the last one-room public schoolhouse in the remote village of Tylerton on Smith Island in the lower Chesapeake Bay (enrollment was to be down to three in 1995).

Sherwood, with finely-tuned antennae, a discerning eye for detail in "meaningful dust and clutter," writes about the last cannery in Canton, the last home-delivery milkman in Crofton, the wedding chapel in Elkton ("it's all over in about ten minutes"), oak-split basket makers in North East, the last Maryland tack factory (probably the last in the United States).

The bay and tidewater offer a rich diversity of craftsmen: a decoy carver in Elkton, the disappearing skipjacks of Tilghman and Deal islands, the oyster tong shaft makers of Bivalve, the wooden workboat builder of Piney Point, the pound-net fisherman of Point Lookout, the sailmaking brothers in Oxford, the wooden yacht builders, also in Oxford. This is the philosophy of Ed Cutts, the yacht builder: "The problem today is that we don't have any artisans. There's no work ethic. People would rather trot down the road in an expensive outfit with their minds turned off" (36).

The subjects, of course, are old. Some are in their nineties, many in their eighties. Though most are men, one of the best envisaged is "Miss Marguerite" Schertle, ninety-two, of the Woman's Industrial Exchange on North Charles Street in Baltimore, who has been a waitress there for forty-five years. The ambience of another time is caught in the detail: the greeting doorman, sleigh bells tingling from the doorknob, the high ceiling sheeted in pressed tin, ancient wooden-bladed ceiling fans.

Some places have not adjusted prices for the 1990s: A cabin on a mountain trout stream in Garrett County still rents for $ 125 a month. A shop on West Saratoga Street in Baltimore still fashions buttonholes for twenty-five cents. The Last Picture Show in Pocomoke City, open only on weekends, sells popcorn from an oldtime dispenser for ten cents a bag.

The Jefferson Building on the northeast corner of Charles and Fayette Streets in Baltimore—a survivor of the Great Fire of 1904—has a marble-fronted bank of three "magnificent brass-encrusted elevators." They are operated by three uniformed elderly black men wearing white gloves. White gloves? It "takes hours each night" to polish the interior brass panels, the brass

cage doors, the Otis control handles, and the polisher "doesn't like fingerprints on his brass" (81).

On Route 20 in Rock Hall, an official black-letter road marker acclaims "The Old Martin Wagner Blacksmith Shop (1899-1980)." The smithy, in a leaning, rusted tin-roof shed is still operated, though it looks abandoned, by a member of the Wagner family, pounding away at a thigh-high anvil.

The handsome book is printed on high grade stock, meticulously illustrated with black and white photographs by Edwin H. Remsberg. The subjects are stiffly posed, effectively creating another era.

Maryland's Vanishing Lives is enhanced, even graced, by Sherwood's sympathetic, often wistful portraits of resolute men and women he describes as "living time capsules." Unfortunately he was told many times on his quest that he was "too late": anachronisms had been brushed aside by progress and their guardians had faded away with the vagaries of time.

HAROLD A. WILLIAMS
Baltimore

Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake. Edited by Paul A. Shackel and Barbara J. Little. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. 320 pages. $49.)

Public Archaeology in Annapolis: A Critical Approach to History in Maryland's Ancient City. By Parker B. Potter, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. 246 pages. $45.)

An edited volume of papers is useful for organizing and summarizing knowledge, but it also can give us a glimpse into a community of scholars, that informal group of individuals brought together through common interest or circumstance. *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake* is such a volume.

The editors' goal was to assemble a representative collection of substantive and theoretical contributions to the terrestrial archaeology of the Chesapeake Bay region. Most of the papers focus on archaeological sites and landscapes along the western shore of the bay. Exceptions include Sanford's paper on plantation slavery in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia, and Winter's report on Antietam Furnace in the Great Valley of Western Maryland. Studies of sugar refining in Alexandria (Barr, et al.) and consumer behavior in Washington, D.C. (Cheek and Seifert) also are on the edge of what historically is regarded as the Chesapeake Bay region. In contrast, there are no papers covering the Upper and Eastern shores of the bay. Underwater archaeology is excluded entirely.

Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake includes papers representing most of the major perspectives in the archaeology of the region. Landscape figures prominently among the themes covered by eighteen contributed papers and

four introductory essays. Miller, Pogue, Kryder-Reid, and King each deal with the transformation of individual houselots while essays by Brown and Samford, Shackel, and Leone examine the larger urban landscapes of Williamsburg, Virginia, and St. Mary's City and Annapolis, Maryland. Potter and Waselkov demonstrate the affects of aboriginal settlement patterning and landscape modification on European settlement choices. Each of these essays recognizes, to a greater or lesser degree, the importance of landscapes in the creation and maintenance of social relations, although from perspectives as different as systems theory and critical theory. Each case study has intellectual roots in the fertile ground of Rhys Isaac's *Transformation of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982) and John R. Stilgoe's *Common Landscapes of America, 1580–1845* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

Archaeologists working in the Chesapeake region are not concerned solely with landscape studies, as Shackel's and Little's book will attest. Emerson's controversial work with clay tobacco pipes is an attempt to explore the lives and cultures of Africans in the Chesapeake colonies. Little's feminist historical archaeology renders visible that which we—and our predecessors—have made invisible: the historical experience of women. Joanne Bowen identifies regional cultural differences that emerged between the English communities of New England and the Chesapeake, particularly in the areas of diet and animal husbandry. Martin's paper on creamware, and Cheek's and Seifert's comparative analysis of late nineteenth-century artifact assemblages from several houselot sites in Washington, D.C., examine the emerging consumer society. Industrial archaeology also is represented in the works of Markell, Winter, and Barr, et al., albeit with an explicit anthropological view not often seen in the works of industrial archaeologists.

American and Canadian historical archaeologists will recognize many of these studies from the pages of their journal, *Historical Archaeology,* and from conference presentations. *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake* is a convenient research tool and, its price notwithstanding, an excellent reader for undergraduate courses. Historians no doubt will have mixed feelings about the book. The individual authors and the editors make little effort to tie these studies into issues currently discussed by historians. Many of the papers lack sufficient data tables and statistical analyses to allow evaluation of the authors' interpretations. Shackel and Little have, however, produced a readable volume with a minimum of jargon. The papers are brief (averaging twelve pages in length in dual columns) and the editors introduce each section with a two- to three- page essay. Historians and general readers will learn about a variety of approaches that archaeologists bring to the study of the past. Museologists will find the papers on consumer behavior of particular interest. Artifact illustrations are few: This is not a guide to the identification and dating of objects.

Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake is a partial look at the archaeology of the region. In fairness to the editors, there has been little archaeological research conducted on the Eastern Shore and along the upper reaches of the bay. (There are no professional archaeologists employed on Maryland's Eastern Shore.) A little more "digging" will be necessary to incorporate some of this lesser known work, and the work of underwater archaeologists into a true historical archaeology of the Chesapeake.

Warning: *Public Archaeology in Annapolis* is not about the archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, nor is it a history of the ancient city. This book is about perspectives on the past and how special interests create and use those perspectives. More importantly, it documents an experimental application of professional self-reflection and critical theory to historical archaeology.

Critical theory is a political philosophy with roots in Marxism. Potter relies on two of its basic principles: Social context influences the course, shape, and content of historical research, and knowledge is used to further the interests of some at the expense of others. Potter's argument, and the underpinning of the Archaeology in Annapolis program, is that archaeologists must recognize the political nature of their work and develop research questions that engage the public in debate over community issues. Archaeological research—both the process and the findings—should encourage the public to question the validity and legitimacy of widely held assumptions about the nature of society and the naturalness of existing social relations. Potter uses a three-part methodology for critical archaeology in Annapolis: ethnography, archaeology, and archaeological practice.

Potter is a participant observer, the anthropologist studying the culture from within. He does not discuss a systematic method for the collection and analysis of ethnographic data and is less concerned with social realities than with public perceptions. He discovers a community that does not have a source of identity other than what it borrows from "visitors"; viz. state government, the U.S. Naval Academy, and the thousands of boaters and other tourists invited to the city each year. In the struggle for power these visitors are potential claimants. The complementary opposition of resident and visitor thereby becomes the focus of social discourse as resident elites claim political power by virtue of their residence. History, according to Potter, becomes an important tool by which resident elites claim rights to power within the community.

So what does archaeology have to do with historicism in Annapolis and struggles for power? The goal of *Archaeology in Annapolis* is to engage the public in a search for the roots of modern myths about the city. The archaeologists—Potter among them—rediscover and publicly display the variability and historical continuity that have been obscured or denied by nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians and historic preservationists. Together with Mark Leone and a number of other scholars associated with the University of Mary-

land and the Historic Annapolis Foundation, Parker Potter asks archaeological questions that are relevant to contemporary life in the city. Through a guidebook, a multimedia presentation, and walking tours of archaeological sites, visitors have the opportunity to engage in the debate over current issues and to see through histories that obscure or mythologize the city's past.

While the public presentation of archaeology has been successful in Annapolis, efforts to influence the ways in which Annapolitans behave have not. More than three hundred visitors at one historic site completed questionnaires. Potter does not present the quantitative data, but examples of short answers leave little doubt that most visitors walked away with the preconceptions that they brought to the site. Unfortunately, neither Potter nor his colleagues appear to have conducted the kind of ethnographic research and analysis necessary to identify significant changes in perception and action within the city.

There is a flaw in Potter's three-part methodology that may account for the results of the public education program: the parts should be stages, each stage built upon the results of the last. All three parts of the program were undertaken simultaneously; therefore, the ethnographic research could not have been completely integrated into the formulation of archaeological questions. At the time the book went to press, the archaeological data had not been completely analyzed and the results reported. The public was presented with preliminary findings at best.

There is much to quibble with in Potter's treatment of the ethnographic, historical, and archaeological data, but the chief value of *Public Archaeology in Annapolis* is not in the light that it sheds on the archaeology and history of the ancient city. Archaeology in Annapolis is an experiment and, like many experiments, we learn as much from the process as from the result. The importance of self-reflection in scholarship is clear. Thinking critically enables us—archaeologists and historians—to see the social relevance of our work and to retain some control over how it is used. Whether or not we can involve the general public in the scientific process remains to be demonstrated, but critical theory has an important place in American historical archaeology. Readers sympathetic to critical theory should read this book. Those who are not sympathetic should read it twice.

JAMES G. GIBB
North Beach

The Papers of George Washington. Presidential Series, Volume 3, June–September, 1789. Edited by W. W. Abbot. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989. 680 pages. Notes, index. $42.50); Volume 4, September, 1789-January, 1790. Edited by W. W. Abbot. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993. 668 pages. Notes, index, illustrations. $65.00.)

The Washington Papers are being published in four chronological series. The Presidential Series is the final set, covering the period 1788-99. The first two volumes of this series, published in 1987, cover the months leading up to George Washington's election as president of the new republic and his first months in office. The third and fourth volumes carry through the summer and fall of 1789, a critical time in the formulation of the new government.

As historians, we need look no farther than the daily newspaper to sense the complexities of creating a nation and an effective national government out of the chaos that follows on the heels of revolution. In these volumes, it is possible to trace this process of nation-forming in the correspondence of our first president. George Washington was a reluctant participant in the chain of events that led to his election, and his correspondence in volume 1 traces the growing pressure that forced him to accept the office. His reward, even before his election, was a deluge of letters from seekers of public office. These appeals came from all quarters, and ranged from those seeking a continuance in their present position to the barely literate who were willing to accept any post, anywhere. There is an almost humorous undercurrent in the format that dominates these letters. The applicant (all but a few are male) opens with a recitation of his service in the war, continues with a litany of personal losses resulting from his patriotic commitment, then enumerates the women and minor children dependent on him. He closes with a résumé of skills and the job or jobs which would bring relief.

This flood of unsolicited correspondence dominates much of the first two volumes of the Presidential Series, but by volume 3 the outline of a federal government begins to emerge. Washington devotes considerable energy to the formulation of certain key departments, including state, treasury, military, and judiciary. These departments appear in the correspondence for varying reasons. Volume 3 opens, for example, with a twenty-eight-page report presented by the Board of Treasury in mid-June 1789 that provides a detailed review of the domestic debt of the United States. In late July, the board followed up with an equally detailed "Report on the General State of the Treasury"; their August report included recommendations for the establishment of a permanent federal tax distinct from any state taxes.

The establishment of a military department receives similar attention to the details of organization, rank, pay, and uniforms. More significant, however, is the correspondence regarding need and purpose. The need for a strong navy is

only hinted at in the context of Algerian seizures of American merchant ships, but conflicts on the western frontier strongly underscore the necessity of a standing army.

Tension between Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw tribes and white settlers in western North Carolina and Georgia serve as one catalyst for defining federal authority. Washington appoints a commission to travel to Georgia and negotiate a settlement between the state of Georgia and a confederation of Indian tribes. His detailed instructions to the commissioners reveal the complexities of negotiating with a disparate array of tribal leaders, and the pitfalls inherent when federal authority intervenes between a state and a quasi-foreign power. Washington offers conflicting interpretations of Indian status. He stresses the need to establish the legitimacy of Indian leaders to negotiate for their people, and to make those leaders recognize the authority of the federal government. However, in a communication to the U.S. Senate, Washington requests that they ratify Indian treaties just as they would a treaty with a foreign nation.

Washington faced equally challenging problems in the judiciary department. To fill judicial posts created by the formation of a national government, Washington naturally relied heavily on those judges and attorneys who dominated the state courts. To his chagrin, he discovered that the travel required to serve a federal district was a substantial deterrent to federal judicial service. Plagued by polite refusals from some of the top judicial talent in the country, Washington was forced to resort to clandestine screening to ensure acceptance before the job was offered. This subterfuge was necessary in Washington's view, as he sought to avoid any public tarnishing of the new government.

The importance of a federal government was expressed in other ways. Improved transportation and communication among the states was essential to economic growth, thus the postal service received special attention in the early months of Washington's first term. Equally important was a coordinated and reliable system for coastal navigation. Local governments largely ignored the need for adequate navigational aids; in a summary of lighthouses functioning in 1789, Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton reported there were no lighthouses, beacons, or buoys to assist shipping in the Chesapeake. A federal lighthouse service was given priority, and these navigational beacons soon became a symbol of federal jurisdiction.

The unique attributes that Washington brought to the first presidency are evident in October 1789, when the President embarked on a lengthy tour of New England. Intended to draw support for his administration, this journey became a tour of acclamation. In every town, the President was met by an outpouring of admiration and respect from the public, a response that seems uniquely personal in its intensity. This was doubtless a reaction to his role in the war, for it is hard to imagine John Adams or Thomas Jefferson receiving the same level of public adulation under similar circumstances. Regardless, it

proved a highly effective public endorsement of the President and strengthened Washington's hand when he returned to the business of building a government.

The significance of this support is underscored by the continuing efforts to finalize the ratification of the Constitution. Two states had not yet ratified when Washington took office, and his correspondence includes reports on the continuing debates in North Carolina and Rhode Island. Shortly after his return from New England in November 1789, Washington received word that North Carolina had ratified, but conflicts between urban and rural factions delayed approval in Rhode Island until May 1790.

The final pages of volume 4 are typical in the variety of subjects that demand the President's attention. Mixed in with an analysis of the Revolutionary War debts owed to France and Washington's State of the Union address to Congress are farm reports from Mount Vernon, a detailed lease for land in Virginia, and Andrew Ellicott's report on his efforts to settle a boundary issue on Lake Erie. With most of his political appointments complete and formation of a civil service well underway, Washington's correspondence shows increasing variety and sufficient flexibility to permit the occasional personal letter to friends abroad.

ORLANDO RIDOUT V
Maryland Historical Trust

What They Fought For, 1861–1865. By James M. McPherson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994. 112 pages. $16.95.)

Gettysburg: A Meditation on War and Values. By Kent Gramm. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994. 288 pages. Index. $24.95.)

"The truth is," recalled a survivor of Antietam's deadly Cornfield, "when bullets are whacking against tree-trunks and solid shot are cracking skulls like egg-shells, the consuming passion in the breast of the average man is to get out of the way." For years, interested students peering at the gore of Civil War battlefields have wondered what exactly made the men do it. The experience of World War II and Vietnam veterans suggested to modern scholars that the eager volunteers of 1861 soon discarded their idealism like overloaded knapsacks, that years of bitter, wasteful war forced them to adopt the tough, wily cynicism that has marked soldiers from Cannae to Khe Sanh. But that picture has never quite fit. It is not easy to think of Pickett's Virginians, beginning their long, doomed walk across a mile of open ground into the muzzles of Union guns on Cemetery Ridge, as cynical. Nor was it combat-wise for the Irish Brigade to stand in the open before Confederate riflemen in Antietam's Bloody Lane, taking so much fire at point-blank range that finally, as a brigade on that day, they ceased to exist.

The question of soldiers' motivation has recently received much attention, most notably from Gerald F. Linderman (*Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* [New York: The Free Press, 1987]) and Reid Mitchell (*The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1993]). In *What They Fought For, 1861–1865*, the published collection of the 1993 Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, James M. McPherson takes the field, flatly arguing that we should trust the men to explain themselves. McPherson reminds us that Civil War armies were the most literate in history to that time (80 percent could read and write), that letters and diaries (McPherson has sampled more than 25,000) were neither discouraged nor censored, and that the soldiers, able to follow long arguments and sometimes longer speeches to the letter, valued newspapers as much as coffee. Such passionate devotion to ideas and political developments must be taken into any account of why men fought this war. After outlining the ways Confederate and Union soldiers thought about constitutional issues, he moves on to the larger question of slavery. Did southerners fight to preserve a slave system? Despite disclaimers to the contrary, many did, for theirs was a liberty *within* a slave society, the southern way of life. And while it is true that the overwhelming majority of Union volunteers initially rejected abolition as a war aim, after the Emancipation Proclamation more and more of them accepted preservation of the Union *and* creation of a free society as a cause worth dying for. For some, devotion to a cause became "almost pathological." A Maryland-born artilleryman, grandson of Benjamin Latrobe, surveyed the field below Marye's Heights at Fredericksburg, where his guns had wreaked such havoc, remarking that he "enjoyed the sight of hundreds of dead Yankees. Saw much of the work I had done in the way of severed limbs, decapitated bodies, and mutilated remains of all kinds. Doing my soul good" (23). Questions of sample and interpretation are certain to come, but those are best reserved until McPherson has argued his case more fully in the larger, forthcoming work from which these essays have been "carved."

Kent Gramm is a horse of an entirely different color. Undisciplined and unscholarly, *Gettysburg: A Meditation on War & Values* is a rambling drive down winding Pennsylvania country roads, past the junk that litters the battlefield today—strip malls, highways, hamburger joints, K-Marts, souvenir shops, the Visitors' Center—straight to July 1863, McPherson's Ridge, the Seminary, Little Round Top, the Peach Orchard, the Rose Farm. Gramm sometimes vacations at the Gettysburg battlefield, tramping its ridges and valleys, looking all the while for what is missing in American life because, to him, American life is vacuous. He believes he has found it in the heroism of the men who fought there, men who believed in fewer things but believed in them very deeply, who lived simpler lives and bravely met their deaths because their lives were shaped by notions of duty and love of country. By comparison, he argues, modern

American lives are largely devoid of meaning. "After 1865, without much pause, America has been sold down the river by corporate greed and political cowardice. Today we are a colonial country, still scrambling after manufactured evils we can't even produce by ourselves anymore—losing at our own wicked game. All this at the expense not mainly of power or economic well-being, but of justice" (257). Well, maybe.

Gramm can irritate, as an artist irritates, but this artist has chosen a large and worthy subject—what were those men like; how have we failed them? A novelist commendably unafraid of taking chances, he is romantic, sentimental, thoughtful, imaginative, grim. Occasionally his prose falters—a conceit here, an expression just a little too hip there—but he also gives his readers rich and colorful details about the battle. His view is at times panoramic (the death of the Iron Brigade) and at others telescopic (the life and death of an infantryman). No one writing on a subject this large—the failure of this nation to live up to the courage and sacrifice its ancestors proved on its greatest battlefield one summer over a century ago—is going to persuade every reader. But let us applaud this attempt. Anyone who has visited Gettysburg, who has felt the chill of walking over hallowed ground where the dead still lie, will find much to appreciate in this book and will very likely read it more than once.

ROBERT I. COTTOM, JR.
Baltimore

The Nation and Its City: Politics, "Corruption," and Progress in Washington. D.C., 1861–1902. By Alan Lessoff. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994. 288 pages. Appendix, notes, index. $45.)

Thoroughly and imaginatively researched, thoughtful and well written, Lessoff's *The Nation and Its City* is one of the best books on Washington history to appear in years. The book is aptly named: it strives to lift its saga of "politics, 'corruption,' and progress" out of the parochial and the particularistic and place the city within the broader context of urban issues in Gilded Age America. Washington is the perfect foil for this approach. Simultaneously a city and a component of the national state, the tale of how Washington acquired modern public works, services, and administrative structures weaves together two stories—one local, one national—usually told separately.

To tell these two stories, Lessoff looks through both ends of his analytical field glasses: examining close up and in great detail key events, movements, and individuals on the local level, then flipping the angle of vision to embed the detail he has gleaned into the larger picture to demonstrate how Washington's experiences confirm or confound trends in the nation at large. In general, the "micro" approach is more successful than the "macro," but even

when Lessoff reaches further than his evidence will support him the challenges he poses to conventional wisdom about urban history are intriguing.

Though just enough of the story of what has come before is woven into the narrative, the reader essentially confronts the city of Washington at the end of the Civil War. It is not a pretty sight. Carcasses of dead mules were piled high on the Mall. Troops shivering through four cold winters had cut down every tree in sight for fuel. Destitute freedmen huddled amid horrid shanties in places with names like "Murder Bay." The ugly capital's immediate post-war critics were many and vocal. They also were not entirely fair. As Lessoff points out, the postbellum capital city was often judged not against the standard of other real American cities—some of which faced equally serious problems—but against its potential, against the glorious city envisioned by its namesake George Washington and the Founding Fathers. The proud generation that had won the war and saved the Union looked with shame upon this capital city that did not measure up to their dreams.

This is Lessoff's jumping-off point. As talk of moving the capital away, maybe west to St. Louis, turned serious, local businessmen got serious about doing whatever it took to keep the government where it was along the Potomac. Washington was, they well knew, a one-company town: if the government pulled out it would quickly wither and die and with it the fortunes of its citizens. What follows is a fascinating story of enthusiastic boosters, political hacks, side-lined old elites, corrupt contractors, determined officials, and dedicated engineers, and a vast array of other Gilded Age characters, who, over the next four decades transformed the ugly capital into a beautiful city, a "New Washington" worthy of the nation. The fact that many of the key players managed to enrich and/or disgrace themselves in the process only makes the story more lively.

Lessoff divides the story of the capital's transformation into chapters coinciding with the distinct phases of the process. While all are informative and make connections hitherto unseen, among the best are the chapters on "Improvers and Old Citizens" and "The Origins of the District Commission." In the "Improvers," readers meet the "new men" (new to Washington and often new to money) afoot in the post-war capital, who were pitted against the city's long-time residents, whose roots and memories predated the war in the struggle over the capital's future. In an enlightening statistical breakdown, Lessoff discovers that two-thirds of the "Improvers" trying to shape Washington to their own ends in the early 1870s had not even lived there in 1860.

In light of the current statehood movement in the District, the chapter on the origins of the District Commission in the 1870s is particularly relevant and should be "must" reading for all interested in the issue. On the surface, it seems remarkable how little fuss local citizens made when they lost the voting rights they had enjoyed during the District's brief stint as a territory in the

early 1870s. But their acquiescence is carefully explained by Lessoff as a complex recipe of which race, racism, and tax relief were key ingredients.

Even the highly technical chapter on the Army Corps of Engineers and the District is engrossing. One learns of eels up to three feet long living in the Capitol's ponds and of the city's purchase of English sparrows at $2 a pair to provide cheerful music tor pedestrians. A lengthy discussion of the virtues of various paving materials—stone blocks *vs.* asphalt *vs.* concrete *vs.* ground rubble—is made compelling in the context of unscrupulous contractors, congressmen and city officials who stood to gain handsomely should the methods they backed be adopted. Lessoff's treatment of the construction and bungling of the Washington aqueduct is equally gripping. And sewers, well, there is a little more on sewers than might be necessary but even this discussion has its moments.

Lessoff's extensive research pays its greatest dividends when it allows him to use anecdotes and brief biographical sketches to deepen the understanding of issues that have not received a serious look by scholars in years. Nowhere is this more evident than in his discussion of "Boss" Alexander Shepherd, the "Napoleon of the sewer pipes." That Shepherd was the driving force behind the "New Washington" is not much disputed, but his motives, methods, and actual accomplishments, while not carefully studied, can still spark arguments among partisans and detractors. Lessoff's greatest contribution to Washington history is to provide a richly detailed, carefully thought-out analysis of Shepherd, his fellow "Improvers," the mood in the Reconstruction capital, and the ideological underpinning beneath the transformation of the District of Columbia. This new history of the "New Washington" is first rate and will raise the level of future discourse about the nineteenth-century capital to a higher level.

KATHRYN ALLAMONG JACOB
National Historical Publications and Records Commission
Washington, D.C.

Books Received

Bison Books has recently reprinted two volumes that should interest military history buffs. The author of each book offers firsthand accounts of his experiences as a soldier during and after the Civil War. *Thrilling Days in Army Life*, first published in 1900, contains the reminiscences of General George A. Forsyth, who was present at the Battle of Beecher Island. Author Walter H. Taylor, who worked as Robert E. Lee's staff officer, provides insightful comments on Lee, J. E. B. Stuart, Stonewall Jackson and others in *General Lee: His Campaigns in Virginia, 1861-1865.*

University of Nebraska Press, $8.95, $12.95

The Civil War was the first time that artists went to the field with American soldiers, producing images to disseminate to the public by way of news media. A study of how these images of the Civil War were created, and what purposes they served, has been reprinted in *The Image of War.* Author William F. Thompson also investigates how the historian can use journalistic pictures as primary historical documents.

Louisiana State University Press, $12.95

The railroad was a powerful force in Hagerstown in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. How this industry shaped everyday life, in the words and photographs of those who worked and experienced it, can be found in *Railroad Ties: Industry and Culture in Hagerstown, Maryland.* Editor Susan Levitas weaves her story around the lives of nineteen Hagerstown residents.

The Maryland Historical Trust Press, $14.00

Research Note

In our last issue (Vol. 89, Winter 1994), contributor Frederick Gaede raised the question of whether persons confined to the Baltimore City Jail during the Civil War were Confederate prisoners or civilians. The answer rests between the covers of the War Docket, 1862–1865, which reveals that the jail housed both prisoners of war and political prisoners. Between March 1862 and December 1865 some sixteen hundred men and women spent time in the city jail.

Prisoners included captured Confederates and deserters from both armies, many of whom stayed only a few days before transfer to military prisons at Fort McHenry and Fort Delaware. Charges against political prisoners ranged from "suspicion" to obstructing recruiting, disloyalty, and blockade running. Civilians were released only by military order, a sobering reminder of the martial law that gripped Baltimore during the war.

The docket (MSA C2068) is part of the series "Records of the Baltimore City and County Jail." It can be seen at the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis.

P.D.A.

Notices

Undergraduate Essay Contest

The Education Committee of the Maryland Historical Society announces its sixth annual undergraduate essay contest. Papers must be on a Maryland subject and make use of primary sources. Deadline for submission is June 15, 1995. Please send papers to the Education Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

MARAC and OHMAR Spring Conference

The Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference (MARAC) joins forces with Oral History in the Mid-Atlantic Region (OHMAR) to host "It's About Time: Archivists and Oral Historians." This conference, held in Baltimore on April 20–22, 1995, will use a combination of workshops and speakers to address the concerns of folklorists, archivists, oral historians, and cultural anthropologists. For more information, call (410) 539-0872, extension 345.

Maryland's 361st Birthday

Historic St. Mary's City will hold its annual birthday celebration for Maryland on March 25–26, 1995. St. Mary's City, founded in 1634, was Maryland's first capital. The living history museum now on the site contains ongoing restorations and recreations of original structures. Birthday events include cruises on the historic schooner *Pioneer*, archaeological excavations, and seventeenth-century crafts and music. For more information, call 1-800-SMC-1634.

Anniversaries in Maryland

Anniversaries in Maryland! The City of Frederick is celebrating its 250th anniversary in 1995 . . . The bicentennial of the birth of philanthropist George Peabody is commemorated with an exhibition entitled "The Prophetic Eye," which opened at the Treasury Gallery of the Museum of London on February 20 and continues there through July 9, 1995. The exhibition will then come to the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore from September 5 through December 31, 1995 . . . This year is the hundredth anniversary of the death of Frederick Douglass, who in the 1840s "came storming out of Maryland slavery, an angry young giant, to astound his white contemporaries with his oratorical brilliance and his intellectual capabilities. For half a century after that he was the gadfly of America's conscience, a black man who dared to challenge the doctrine of white supremacy on its own grounds, a former slave who put the lie to the myth of Negro inferlority, an uncompromising advocate of hu-

man rights whether in the sphere of women's suffrage or politicial and social equality between the races"*

Spring Events at Snow Hill

The Snow Hill area attractions, which include Furnace Town Historic Site, the Julia A. Purnell Museum of History, the Mt. Zion One Room Schoolhouse Museum, and the river cruise boat *Tillie the Tug*, offer a wide variety of entertaining and educational activities throughout the year. Some spring events planned are a night walk series, a Revolutionary War encampment, and the annual Pocomoke River Challenge. For more information or a complete schedule, contact Kathy Fisher at (410) 632-2032.

Civil War Institute

The fifth annual Shenandoah Civil War Institute will be held at Shenandoah University in Winchester, Virginia, May 24–25, 1995. For information call (703) 665-4588.

*(Dickson J. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass: The Maryland Years* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, repr. ed., 1985), xiii.

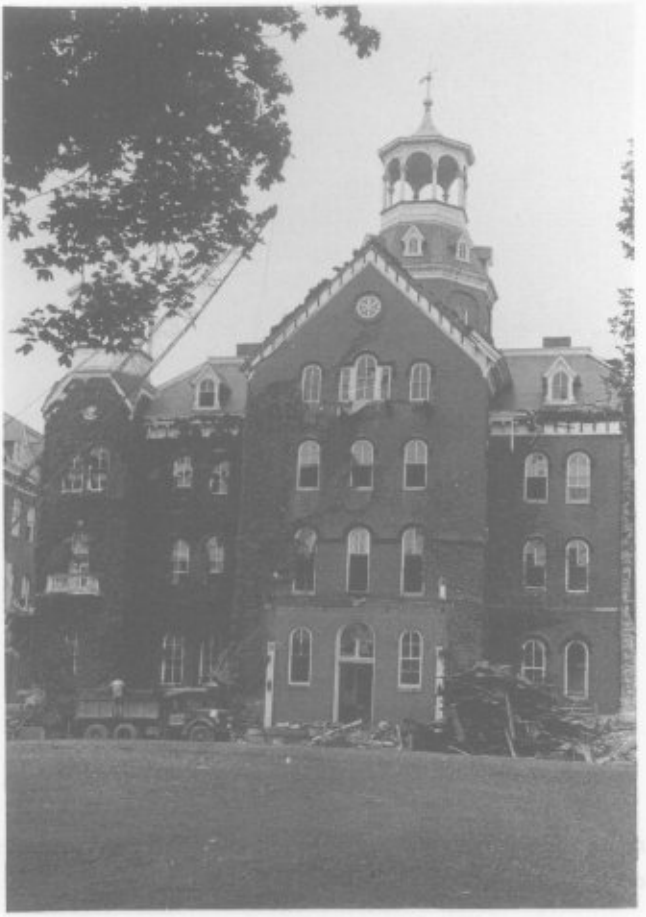
Maryland Picture Puzzle

Challenge your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying the location and date of this Frederick County scene. Is this building still standing?

The Winter 1994 Picture Puzzle depicts the Lutherville Volunteer Fire Company, located on Morris and Francke Avenues, on July 4, 1912. The building still stands and is now used as a private garage.

Our congratulations to Ms. Ann Callan, Mr. William Hollifield, Brigadier General Joseph Albert Majorique Lettré, Mr. Raymond Martin, Mr. Percy Martin, Mr. John Riggs Orrick, Mr. Wayne R. Schaumburg, and Mr. James Thomas Wollon, Jr., who correctly identified the Fall 1994 Picture Puzzle.

Please send your answers to: Picture Puzzle, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201



MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Selected Publications List

* CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior.* 64pp. 1986. $7.95 ($7.15)
* *Chesapeake Wildfowl Hunting: Maryland's Finest Decoys.* 108pp. Color illus. 1991. (soft cover) $14.95 ($13.45)
* COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots.* 136pp. Illus. 1979. $12.95 ($11.65)
* COTTOM, ROBERT I. and HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN, *Maryland in the Civil War: A House Divided.* 128pp. Illus. 1994 $24.95 paper ($19.95•)
* ELLIS, DONNA, and STUART, KAREN. *The Calvert Papers Calendar and Guide to the Microfilm Edition.* 202pp. Illus. 1989 $17.95 ($16.15)
* FOSTER, JAMES W. *George Calvert: The Early Years.* 128pp. 1983. $6.95 ($6.25)
* GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver in Maryland.* 334pp. 1983. $30.00 ($27.00)
* GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Lavish Legacies: Baltimore Album and Related Quilts in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 140pp. Color illus. 1994. (soft cover) $37.50 ($33.75) (limited, signed hard cover) $60 ($54)
* HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage: A Guide to the Collections of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum.* 31pp. Illus. 1984 $5.00 ($4.50)
* KAHN, PHILLIP JR. *A Stitch in Time The Four Seasons of Baltimore's Needle Trades.* 242 pp. Illus. 1989 $15.00 ($13.50)
* KENNY, HAMILL. *The Placenames of Maryland: Their Origin and Meaning.* 352pp. 1984. $12.00 ($10.80)
* KEY, BETTY McKEEVER. *Maryland Manual of Oral History.* 47pp. 1979 $5.00 ($4.50)
* KEY, BETTY McKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland: A Directory.* 44pp. 1981. $5.00 ($4.50)
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